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Memorie of the Somervilles

James Somerville Somerville, Walter Scott

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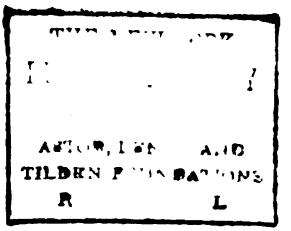

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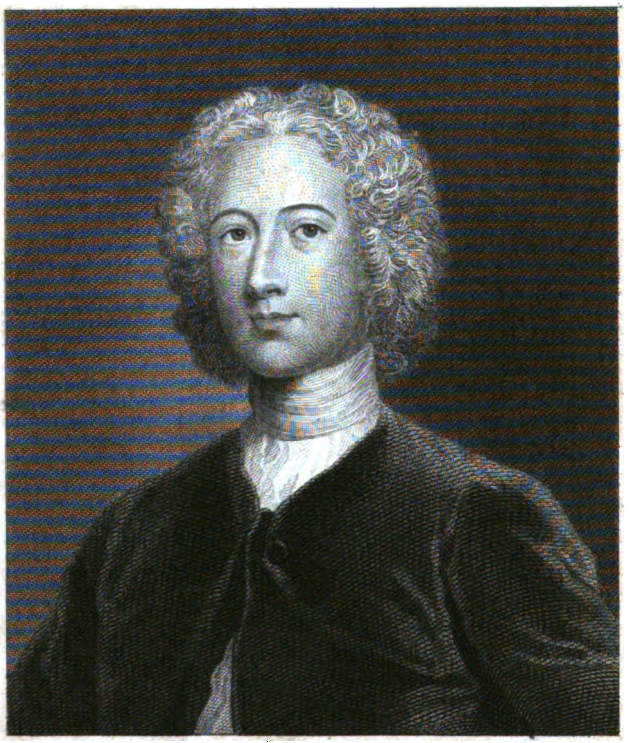

Engraved by E. Scriven from the original Picture in the possession of Lord Somerville.

WILLIAM SOMERVILLE ESQUIRE,

Author of the Chace &c. &c. &c.

London Published by Longman Hurst & Rees 1 May 1805.

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MEMORIE

OF

The Somervilles;

BEING

A HISTORY

OF THE

BARONIAL HOUSE OF SOMERVILLE.

BY

JAMES,

ELEVENTH LORD SOMERVILLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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MEMORIE

OF THE

SOMERVILLS.

Off Hugh, Lord Somervill, the eight Lord Somervill, and the eighteinth from Sir Gualter.—(CONTINUED.)

BOTH parties, the father and sone, prepared the 1593.
one to defend and mentaine what the arbitratores had done, and the other to reduce the decreit arbitrall and all that might follow therupon. Thus a new contest being raised, hightened ther animosities, and occasioned a new deadly feed betwext the two families of Cambusnethen and Cowthally; for the house of Cambusnethen interessing themselves in Gilbert Master of Somervill, ther sone-in-law, ouned him not only themselves, but engadged all ther freinds and allyes to stand for his right, being againe, as they insi-

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nuate, ratified both by contracts and a decreit arbitrall, which ought to have putt his undoubted rights beyond all questione. Amongst all the allyaes of Cambusnethen, ther was non stood more for them then James Johnstoune, Laird of Westerhall,[1] who being a sister sone of the house

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[1] Westerhall (already mentioned) was a thorough-bred borderer, an excellent swordsman, and capable of contriving and executing the boldest enterprizes. Among other exploits, he distinguished himself by avenging the death of Douglas of Mains, who had been executed upon the false accusation of Robert Hamilton of Inchmachan, a creature of James Stuart, Earl of Arran, the unworthy favourite of James VI. Westerhall, who had sworn vengeance against Inchmachan, slew him in the park at Stirling, 1584.

The following particulars concerning this gentleman are taken from the genealogical tree of the pedigree of the family of Johnstoun of Westerhall:—"VI. James, is served heir to his father James, before the sheriff of Lanerk, in the aforsaid lands, 20th December, 1580, in the reign of King James the Sixth. This James appears, from a charter of apprising under the great seal, 5th November, 1587, in favour of James Commandator of Holywood, afterwards designed Sir James Johnstoun of that ilk, and of Dunskelly, to have been curator to the said commendator, along with the Earls of Angus and Bothwell, and Johnstoun of Elphinstone; and it also appears, from a contract of wadsett, between William Douglas of Drumlanrig, and James Johnstoun of that ilk, son to the said Sir James, dated 28th February and 19th November, 1621, and other deeds, and from a bond granted by James Johnstoun of that ilk, to James Scott, natural son to Sir Robert Scott of Thirlstane, 21st and 23d of February, 1622, that the said James John-

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of Cambusnethen, owned that familie in all ther quarrelles, especially in these of manhood, wher-

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stoun of Westeraw, had been curator to the said James Johnstoun of that ilk, along with Sir John Murray of Blackbarrony, Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank, and others. In the progress of writs, delivered to James Carmichael of Hyndford, by James Johnstoun of Westeraw, *anno* 1623, there is a sasine, dated the 2d of October, 1594, of the twenty-merk land of Westeraw, and twenty-merk land of Pittaneen, in favour of the said Sir James Johnstoun of Dunskelly, given, "*propriis manibus*," by the said James Johnstoun of Westeraw, to the said Sir James, personally present, in consequence of a charter having been granted thereof, by the said Westeraw to Dunskelly, and the cause of the grant narrated in the sasine, is "*pro amore et favore quod ipse gerit erga delectum suum amicum, et consanguineum, Dominum Jacobum Johnstoun de Dunskelly militem, et pro multis aliis rationibus et causis ipsum ad hoc movent.*" And this designation, of kinsman of the same blood, and cousin, given by Westeraw to Dunskelly, and entering into a deed, properly Dunskelly's own evidence, is the more pregnant proof of the descent of the family of Westeraw from that of Johnstoun, as the relation that stood betwixt them in consequence of that descent, (and which must have been well known in those days,) is there mentioned; and not that of being brother-in-law to Dunskelly, by his marriage with Margarette Johnstoun, sister to the said Dunskelly, as appears from the contract of marriage, dated 8th February, 1594, and which marriage was not then dissolved, as is vouched by the lady's life-rent infeftment, in the said lands of Westeraw, proceeding upon the said contract, and charter thereon, dated the 2d December, 1591. There is an observation in Hyndford's Chartulary, after the foresaid sasine, 2d October, 1594, that the same had been granted, with a view to make the lands recognosce, so as hereafter a new grant thereof might be obtained from the crown.

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in he never failled them, when occasione offered. I shall only mentione two instances as most remarkeable; the first falling out at a foord of Clyde, where they passe betwext Pitenen and Carstaires; Westerhall, with three only in his company, haveing crossed the watter tymely in the morning, for business he had to doe with some persones in Carstaires syde, housed himself as quyetlie as he could, resolveing to remaine there untill his affair was over. He had continued but some few hours in the house, when Hugh Somervill, eftirward designed of Drum, second sone to Hugh Lord Somervill, comes upon intelligence of Wester-halles being there unto the place, and almost surprized him in the house; but that, by good fortune, a wench looking out at the back door, cryed, "These yow look for are now comeing;" and being demanded, "How many is of them," she answered,

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"This last James Johnstoun of Westeraw is designed Sir James Johnstoun, in a contract betwixt the said James Johnstoun of that ilk, afterwards created Lord Johnstoun, and James Johnstoun, son to the said Westeraw, dated in *anno* 1634, and to be afterwards mentioned. And having acquired right, *anno* 1603, to the lands of Daldurham, &c., in Eskdale, (which were afterwards erected into a barony, to be called the barony of Westeraw, or Westerhall,) and dying in *anno* 1633, was succeeded by his son."

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" Many, but they ride soe hard and closse, I cannot number them." Wherupon Westerhall startes up hastily, and cryes, " Horse! horse! this house can be noe shelter for us, neither in it can wee make any defence." Haveing said this, and immediatly mounting ther horses, rydeing directly to the watter, being scarce ane arrow flight from the house, they wer discovered and followed upon the spurre by Hugh Somervill and eight more that were in his company, who overtakeing them neer the foord, Westerhall looking back, and finding his adversaries were not all come up, he resolves not to part with these that wer come without blowes. Therefore he turnes with his three followers, and lyke an expert borderer, or rather a good souldier, receaves his enemies fyre, and gives his oune, wherwith William Somervill of Blackpooll's horse was only killed, and himself sore bruised, and John Cheislie, a fewar in the towne of Carnwath, a follower and depender of the Lord Somervill, haveing receaved a shott in his arme by a pistoll ball, the bone being brocken in the cure, meeting with a bad chirurgeon, the wound gangered and he lost his arme. Eftir the fyreing of ther pistolles, they dealt some blowes with ther swords, giveing and

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receaving severall woundes; but at lenth, the company comeing all in, Westerhall commanded his men to take the watter, and was last himself, being followed closse by Hugh Somervill of Drum, whom, when he espyed to be neerest him, he hitched about a litle on his sadle, and cryed aloud, "Ther are two brothers contending for a ship, but this shall decyde the contraversie;" with that, having a reserved pistoll, he lets flee at him: the ball grazing thorter his breast, carryed off two buttones, cutt the cloath, and only riflelled the hyde of his breast a litle, without any more harme. This was a singular mercy, and a remarkeable providence of the Almightie God towards this gentleman, who, in this escape, preserved the righteous line of the house of Cowthally in his heirs male, as it is at this day.

Westerhall recovering the banke of the river, was but in a bad takeing, himself and all his followers with ther horses being sore wounded, fainted much, by reasone of the cold watter, they wer not able to carry them off; and undoubtedly, as Westerhall eftirward confessed, they had been all killed if the men in Piteneen[1]

[1] At this time the family of Westerhall possessed the lands

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toune, upon hearing the shott, and seeing the debeat, had not hastened to their releiff, which they did, forceing the other partie back over the river, unto whom likewayes ther was severall came for ther assistance. Both parties now standing looking one to the other, the river of Clyde being betwext them, unwilling to be the first takers of it, eftir the fyreing of some few pistolles, as a provocatione which did noe great harme at that distance, they parted to their severall homes. This bickering fell out the twentieth day of Apryle, 1593, immediately upon the breaking up, and the families contraverting about the decreit arbitrall.

The other actione wherin Westerhall was concerned happened three years thereftir in Edinburgh, and was only personall upon the same account, betwext Westerhall and Bread[1] Hugh Somervill of the Writes. This gentleman had often formerly foughten with Westerhall upon equall termes, and being now in Edinburgh

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of Pettinane, in Lanarkshire, which had been bestowed on their ancestor in 1455, for his valorous conduct at the battle of Arkinholme.

[1] That is, *Broad* Hugh, so called from his bulk.

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about his privat affaires, standing at the head of the West-bow, Westerhall by accident comeing up the same, some officious and unhappy fellow sayes to Westerhall, "There is Bread Hugh Somervill of the Writes." Wherupon Westerhall, fancying he stood there either to waitt him, or out of contempt, he immediatly marches up with his sword drawen, and with the opening of his mouth, crying, "Turne, villane;" he cuttes Writes in the hint head a deep and sore wound, the foullest stroak that ever Westerhall was knoune to give, acknowledged soe, and much regrated eftirward by himself. Writes finding himself strucken and wounded, seeing Westerhall (who had not offered to double his stroak) drawes, and within a short tyme puttes Westerhall to the defensive part; for being the taller man, and one of the strongest of his time, with the advantage of the hill, he presses him sore. Westerhall reteires by little, traverseing the breadth of the bow, to gain the advantage of the ascent, to supply the defect of nature, being of a low stature, which Writes observeing, keepes closse to him, and beares him in front, that he might not quyte what good fortune and nature had given him. Thus they continued neer a

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quarter of ane hour, clearing the callsay,[1] so that in all the strait bow there was not one to be seen without their shop doores, neither durst any man attempt to rid them, every stroak of ther sword threatening present death both to themselves and others that should come neer them. Haveing now come from the head of the Bow, neer to the foot therof, Westerhall being in a pair of black buites, which for ordinary he wore closse drawen up, was quyte tyred. Therefore he stepes back within a shope doore, and stood upon his defence. The very last stroak that Writes gave went neer to have brocken his broad sword in peaces, haveing hitt the lintell of the door, the marke wherof remained there a long tyme. Thereftir, the toune being by this tyme all in ane uproar, the halbertiers comeing to seaze upon them, they wer separated and privatly convoyed to ther chambers. Ther wounds but slight, except that which Writes had upon his head proved very dangerous; for ther was many bones taken out of it; however, at lenth, he was perfectly cured, and the parties themselves, eftir

[1] The causeway. A skirmish formerly mentioned, fought between the Hamiltons and Douglasses, was popularly termed, "Cleanse the causeway."

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Hugh Lord Somerville's death, reconcealled, and all injuries forgotten.

Whill the debeat continued, and dayly increced more and more betwext Hugh Lord Somerville, Hugh, his second sone, and Gilbert Master of Somervill, for the barronies of Carnwath, Lintoune, and Inglishberry Grange, Lord Hugh enters into a contract and agreement with his second son Hugh, which contract being the originall right of the house of Drum to the lands of Louthian, belonging for a long tyme to the Lord Somervill, wherupon charter and seasing followed, and the king's confirmatione;[1] I thought it fitt and convenient to insert this contract here, least happily any might pretend or cavill that the house of Drum wer not now the only representatives of the house of Cowthally, the heirs male of Gilbert Master of Somervill not being.

"At Grantoune, the twentieth and nynth day of Apryle, 1593 years, it is appoynted, contracted, ended, and finally agreed betwext ane noble and mighty lord, Hugh Lord Somervill, on

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[1] Of this second son of Hugh Lord Somervill, the writer of the Memoirs was descended, and came of course to represent the house of Somervill upon extinction of the descendants of the unfortunate Lord Gilbert, Hugh's elder brother.

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the ane part, and Hugh Somervill, second sone to the said noble lord, on the other part, in manner, forme, and effect, as eftir followes, that is to say, the said noble lord, for diverse great soumes of money payed and advanced to him be the said Hugh his sone, and for diverse other weightie considerationes, binds and obleidges him, his heirs and assignayes, to duely and sufficiently infeft, be charter and seazing in due and competent forme, with all clauses necessar, and with warrandice as effeires, the said Hugh Somervill and his heirs male lawfully to be begotten of his bodie, quhilkes failzieing, to sicke persones as the said noble lord shall designe and nominat at any tyme hereftir in his lifetyme; and to be holden as exprest herein, in all and haill the said lords lands of Gillmertoune, Drum, and Gutters, with the coalles and coall heughes thereof, and others, with ther pertinents, lying within the sherrefdome of Edinburgh principall; and that be charters and infeftments, to be holden of our soveraigne lord and his successores be the said lord's alienatione, with our said soveraigne lords confirmatione, as the said Hugh or his forsaids shall think maist meet and expedient, redeemeable allwayes be vertue of the reversione eftir specefied, with warrandice to be contained in the said infeftment

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fra all wairdes, releives, nonentries, ladyes terces, conjunct fies, anwellrents, publict and privat seasings, alienationes, other dangers, perrilles, and inconvenients whatsomever, als weill not named as named, bygaine and to come, for whatsomever cause or occasione preceding the date hereof, mair at lenth to be exprest, and contained in the infeftment forsaid, binding and obleidgeing him and his heirs whatsomever, and successores whatsomever, generall or particular, succeeding to his saids lands or to any part therof; and to the effect the said infeftment may be effectuall and profitable to the said Hugh and his forsaids, and that all impediments may be removed, wherby the full strenth and force of this present contract may be impedit, the said noble lord hes made and constitute, and by thir presents, makes and constitutes the said Hugh and his heirs male begotten of his bodie, as said is, his very lawfull, undoubted, and irrevocable cessioners and assignayes, in and to all and whatsomever reversiones, bands, contracts, and obligationes made be whatsomever persone or persones to the said lord his heirs or assignayes, for redemptione of the saids lands, to whom the samen was alienat at any tyme heretofore, viz. in and to the reversione granted be Master John Russel, advocat, and

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Grizell Armestrang, his spous, to the said noble lord, his heirs and assignayes, for redemptione, and outquytting of all and haill the lands of Gillmertoune and coat lands therof, with the anwellrents adebted furth of the samen, the reversione granted to Master Thomas and Nichol Gallbraithes, for redemptione of the lands of Drum and Gutters, with all other reversiones granted for lowseing and acquitting of the saids lands; with power to the said Hugh, cessioner and assignay aforesaid, to redeeme and outquitt the lands, wodsets, and haill lands above specified; and to make premonitione and consignatione in caice of refuiseall. And for that effect to do all things necessary, whereby the heretable right of the saids lands may be established in the said Hugh's person, his heirs and assignayes forsaids, and shall delyver the saids haill reversiones in the said Hugh's hands, to be used be him, to the effect forsaid; as likewayes shall warrand this present assignatione of the samen reversiones to be valide and sufficient in the self, and heirto binds and obleidges him and his forsaids, in the maist sure forme that can be devysed, provydeing allwayes that Gilbert Somervill, and whatsomever heirs gotten or to be gotten of his body be altogither excluded fra the benefite of this present

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contract, and fra all and whatsomever that he can pretend to the saids lands, and right of successione therof, to pertaine only and stand in the persone of the said Hugh and his heirs male gotten of his bodie; quhilkes failzieing, sicke persones as shall be nominat or designed be the said noble lord, at any tyme dureing his lifetyme, to succeed to the saids lands and to be holden exprest therin, excludeing allwayes the said Gilbert and his heirs and successores whatsomever gotten or to be gotten of his bodie from the said successione, reserveand allwayes to the said noble lord his liferent of the saids haill lands of Gillmertoune, Drum, and Gutters, coalles and coall heughes therof, and all ther parts and pertinents whatsomever, to be specially comprehended in the said infeftment for all the dayes of his lifetyme; and yet, notwithstanding of this present contract and infeftment to proceed therupon, the said noble lord shall have the full administratione and intromissione with the saids lands, haill profites and commodities therof whatsomever; for the quilkes causes the said Hugh Somervill, sone to the said noble lord, binds and obleidges him faithfully, that at what tyme it shall please God to provyde him to any lawfull marriage, the samen shall proceed allwayes be

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the advyce and consent of the said noble lord his father, and the neerest of his kindred and freinds of the lordship of Somervill and house of Cowthally; and further binds and obleidges him and his heirs to content and pay to the said noble lord in his oune lyfetyme allennerly, the soume of three thousand merkes money of this realme; attour the said Hugh binds and obleidges him and his heirs to make, seall, subscryve, and delyver to the said noble lord, and to his assignayes, ane sufficient letter of reversione, excludeing his heirs, and the said assignay to be nominat be the said noble lord in his oune lifetyme only, and lawfull premonitione to be made to the said Hugh and his saids heirs therupon in competent due forme as effeires, for redemptione and outquitting of the saids lands of Gillmertoune, Drum, and Gutters, fra the heirs female gotten of the said Hughs body allennerlie, containeand the soume of four thousand merks money of this realme, to be payed to the saids heirs female upon the premonitione of fourtieth dayes before Whitsunday or Mertimes, personally, or at the dwelling-places, to be payed within Saint Geilles Kirk in Edinburgh; and in caice of faillzie or refuiseall, to be consigned in the hands of the thesaurer or

Dean of Gild of Edinburgh for the tyme, with all clauses necessar as effeires; and every ane of the saids parties binds and obleidges them faithfully to others in the observeing and fullfilling of the premisses; and for ther better securitie, baith the saids persones are content and consent that thir presents be insert and registrat in the bookes of session or counsell, therin to remaine *ad futuram rei memoriam;* and to have the strenth of ane decreit of the saids lords interponed therto, with letters and executorialles of horning, poynding, or wairding, the ane but prejudice to the other, upon ane simple charge of three dayes, the horning to be directed in forme as effeires: And to that effect makes and constitutes Master John Russell

or either of them conjunctly and severally, our laufull procuratores to compear for us before the lords, and consent to the registrating heirof in *uberiori procurationis forma promitten: de rato.* In witnes wherof, baith the saids parties hes subscryved thir presents with ther hands att Grantoune, the said twentieth and nynth day of Apryle, 1593 years, before thir witnesses, Master Alexander Cumming, William Mackesone, servitor to Master John Russell, advocat, John

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Tweddell, servitor to the said Hugh Lord Somervill, with diverse others.

Some few monethes efter the granting of this right, ther happened a difference betwext the father and the sone, but what might have occasioned the same I could not come to the knowledge of, only it appears that the sone hes been somewhat jelous that his father, Lord Hugh, should have recalled that right he had given him to his lands in Louthian; therefore, to secure himself the better, he raises ane inhibitione, and executes the same upon his father. It's dated att Edinburgh, the third of December, 1593, and was execute the same moneth. But this heat was soon over, for I find father and sone joyntlie raised summonds of reductione against that pretended decreit arbitrall, the lord's decreit interponed therto, and all that had followed or might follow therupon. The reasones wer shortly these.

By reasone of the law, all decreits arbitrall ought to be pronounced according to the and submissione wherupon the same proceedes; and ought not to exceed the boundes therof, seing nothing can be decerned but that quhilke is submitted, otherwayes *sententia lata contra vires compromissa est ipso jure nulla;* and true it is, that the said de-

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creit arbitrall is given and pronounced farre above the nature and termes of the said submissione, especially in that poynt where they have decerned and adjudged ane yearly anwellrent of fyve hundereth merkes and infeftment to be expede therupon be the said Gilbert, Master of Somervill, with consent of the said Hugh Lord Somervill, as liferenter, in favoures of the said Hugh Somervill in liferent, for all the dayes of his lifetyme, furth of the lands of Lampets and others, wherin the saids judges forsaid hes most erroniously and expresselie transgressed and exceeded the boundes of the said submissione, it is evident that ther is no farther submitted, but only what compositione should be given be the said Gilbert, Master of Somervill, to the said Hugh, his brother, for the right of his said infeftment; swa that the said compositione and satisfactione, as it is destinate and appoynted to be done in favoures of the said Hugh, in lyke manner it is appoynted to proceed, and to be given be the said Gilbert, and noe otherwayes. Quhilke was equitable, seing he was only to report the commoditie of his brothers
he ought to have given the compositione; and it should not proceeded from any other persone that had no benefite. Neverthelesse the saids

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judges hes appoynted the said infeftment to proceed be the said Gilbert, with consent of our said cousine as liferenter; quhilke consent in caice he should give and swa obey the decreit arbitrall in that poynt, then it shall follow that the said compositione shall be free him, and payed to the said Hugh out of the readyest of his liferent; and on the other part, gif he shall brook his liferent freely, notwithstanding of his consent given, then it followes that noe compositione can take effect given to the said Hugh, seing the said Gilbert is not burdened with the said soume, and his father, Lord Hugh, hes not submitted any part of his liferent to be adjudged be the saids arbitratores. In respect whereof, &c.

Thir summonds of reductione are signett the twelth day of February, 1594. In the beginning of this year dyed, as is allready spocken to, John Somervill, the third Barrone of Cambusnethen, about the seventieth and fourth year of his age. He was a plaine countrey gentleman, and an excellent house-keeper, happy in both his marriages for beautifull and vertueous ladyes;[1] the first heired his estate, and the last strenthened 1594.

[1] Having however been both concubines of James V.

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his familie with noble and worthy allyaes. As to the civill warre in his countrey, mainly occasioned through the change of religione and the minoritie of the princes, he concerned not himself therewith, as adhereing to any of the factiones; nether doe I find that ever this gentleman appeared upon the accompt of the publict but once, and that was by a particular writt from Queen Mary, to be upon that mock syze or jurie of James Earle of Bothwell, when he was accused as accessory to the murder of King Hendrie, the queen's husband, by which jurie the earle was acquitt, as having noe accessione to that murder.[1] This gentleman haveing seen both the

[1] "These were Andrew Earl of Ross, George Earl of Caithness, John Lord Hamilton, commendator of Aberbrothock, James Lord Ross, Robert Lord Semple, Robert Lord Boyd, John Lord Haries, Laurence Lord Oliphant, John Master of Forbes, with the Lairds of Lochinvar, Langton, Cambusnethan, Barnbowgall, and Boyne. The Earl of Cassills excused himself, offering the penalty which by the law they pay who refuse to pass upon assize, but could not obtain himself freed, the queen threatening to commit him to prison; and when he seemed nothing terrified therewith, commanding him, upon pain of treason, to enter and give his judgment with the rest. Thus were they all sworn as the manner is: After which Bothwell, being charged with the inditement, and the same denied by him, they removed forth of the court to consult together; and after a little while returning, by the mouth of the Earl of Cathness, their chancellor, declared him acquit of the murther

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beginning and end of these troubles, ended his dayes in peace att Cambusnethen place, and lyes buryed within the quier of the old church of Cambusnethen. His lady, Katharine Murray, eftir her husbande's death, raises a persuit against Hugh Lord Somervill for repossessing her in the lands of Louthian, conforme to the obleidgement of her contract of marriage with Cambusnethen, to whom these lands did then belong; but, eftir a short proces, herself and her eldest sone John, with her step-sone James, now Laird of Cambusnethen, wer ordained, by a new sentence of the king and counsell, to quitt all clame and interest they might pretend to these lands, and that within three dayes, under the paine of putting them to the horn, and entering ther persones within the castle of Invernesse. Thir letters are signett att Edinburgh, the twentieth and second of May, 1594.

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of the king, and of all the points contained in the inditement, with a protestation, that seeing neither her majestie's advocat had insisted in the pursuit, nor did Robert Cuningham, commissioner from the Earl of Lenox, bring any evidence of Bothwell's guiltiness, neither yet was the inditement sworn by any person; and that they had pronounced according to their knowledge, it should not be imputed to them as willful error which they had delivered."—SPOTTISWOOD, p. 201.

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1595. Hugh Lord Somervill being now not soe old as brocken in spirit, body, and fortune by domestick jarres, first with his lady and then his children, especially his eldest sone Gilbert, on whom, after his marriage, he would never look, but a few weekes before he dyed, finding himself much decayed, he resolves, before his death, to setle his second sone Hugh, by marrying him to some worthie familie. In order to this designe he goes to the Raploch,[1] a house in great estimation at that tyme, because of the worthynesse of the ouner, a gentleman of much understanding, favoured and employed by the house of Hamiltone in ther greatest concernes, of a vast estate, and universally lyked by all the name of Hamilton, as he was much respected by his nighboures. This gentleman, a few years preceeding, had marryed his eldest daughter Jean to James Lord Rosse, and his second daughter Margaret was now ready for marriage. Her the Lord Somervill seeks in marriage for his second sone Hugh. Eftir a few trystes the conditiones was agreed upon, and the contract subscryved att the Raploch, the twentieth and second of

[1] Then represented by Gavin Hamilton of Raploch.

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June, 1594, and the marriage was solemnized in August thereftir. Off this marriage, in the moneth of January, 1596, was borne a sone in Cowthally castle, whom Lord Hugh would needs have named eftir his oune father, Lord James, albeit both Raploch and the childe's father designed to have him named eftir his father and grandfather Hugh. This gentleman, being the only sone and heir of his father, Hugh Somervill of Drum, lived to the age of fourscore and ane years, and saw the fourth generatione. He dyed in January, 1677, att Edinburgh, and lyes buryed in the abbay church of Hollyrude-house. The year proceeding dyed Lady Lillias Bannantyne, second daughter to Sir James Bannantyne of Newhall, ane of the senatores of the colledge of justice.

Hugh Lord Somervill, eftir the baptizeing of his oye,[1] lived only a year and some few moneths, his son Hugh and daughter-in-law being then liveing att Cowthally, in the later end of February he goes to the Raploch, and there contractes and falles in that sicknesse wherof shortlie thereftir he dyed. In the tyme of his sicknesse he

[1] A grandchild.

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was importuned by all his freinds and relationes to be reconcealled with his eldest sone, Gilbert, Master of Somervill and the house of Cambusnethen. As for his eldest sone, he acknowledged he had much reluctancy and difficultie to bring himself to it, seing ther was nothing from the tyme of his sone's manhood, in all his acting, to commend him to his favour dureing his life, and as litle he expected of him for the future to procure his present blessing when now dyeing. For the familie of Cambusnethen, he looked upon them as the principall branch of his familie, who by ther great and noble allyaes had added much to the honour of the name of Somervill; for himself, he never wronged them, but sought his oune in a fair and legall way; and he ever looked upon the feedes and contendings of the two families as a certane foirrunner of both ther ruines. Whereas if that sincere freindship, love, and respect had been observed, which by all the obligationes of nature and grace they wer bound to, it might have faired better with them both then at present it did; and they might have proven great supportes and helpes the one to the other in mentaineing peace, whereas ther continued debeates had gone neer to destroy the families. Haveing thus farre expressed himself

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to Raploch, whose advyce had great influence upon this nobleman, with whom he dealles seriouslie for the reconciliatione, and at lenth prevailled, the next day being appoynted for his sone the Master, his father and brother-in-law, the Lairds of Cambusnethen, elder and younger, to be at the Raploch, where accordingly they came. Old Cambusnethen the Lord Somervill receaved with demonstrationes of great kindenesse, and his sone Harie Hott Spurres, whose true name was John, it being the fortune of the representatives of the familie of Cambusnethen to have nicknames for three generationes. Eftir salutationes upon both sydes, the Lord Somervill told Cambusnethen that he readily acknowledged upon all occurrances he had caryed himself moderately in the differences that was betwext his father and him, and all the violent courses that was taken to debarre him from his just rights in possesseing of his lands in Louthian, he imputed them to his step-mother Katharine Murray, whom he could not much condemne neither, considering her interest and the great disappoyntment her ladyship had mett with in that affair. Cambusnethen thanked his lordship for the good opinione he held of him,

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and the favourable constructione his lordship had putt upon his proceedings in that actione, and withall declared that he ever had that veneratione and respect for his persone and familie that was fit and due from a cadite and vassall to ther cheiff and superior. Thus reciprocally complementing one another, Cambusnethen presented his sone-in-law Gilbert, Master of Somervill, to him, whom takeing by the hand, in lifting him up from his knees, he sayes to old Cambusnethen, "Cousine, I wish from all my heart that this my sone and your's in law, prove as great a comfort to yow as some tymes he was a greiff to me. However, because of God's commandement, and for your sake, I heartily and freely forgive and pardone all his miscarriages, and wishes from my soull he may amend his wayes, and follow such counsell and advice as I know yow and other freinds will not be wanting to give him for his oune good, and the weillfare and standing of the house of Cowthally, which at present is in a staggering conditione, because of some burdings that is upon it; but mainly through the pretentiones of the two brethren, wherunto I gave the ryse myself, because of your disobedience," looking to the Master, his sone.

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Then turneing to Cambusnethen and Raploch, he sayes, "It is for you, gentlemen, with whom they have matched, to look to this affair; you are equally concerned in ther posterity and fortunes: both may be preserved by ane amicable agreement, and both ruined in contending a litle longer. Therefore I expect that you, gentlemen, my neer kinsmen and nighboures, will be the happy instruments of reconcealling the brethren, and setleing all ther unhappy differences. It's very like you and ther wifes may prevaill more by fair perswasiones than ever I could doe by my austere commandes. Ther is enough to make the one live as a nobleman and the other as a gentleman, with the blessing of God, if things be rightly and peaceably mannadged. I could have wished to have dyed att Cowthally; but seing it is not the pleasure of the Almightie, I submitt to the dispensatione, and am not very anxious where I be buryed, referring that to my sones and you my kinsmen."

Haveing said this, and blessed his sone Gilbert, Master of Somervill (Hugh, his second sone, then not being present,) Cambusnethen elder and younger, with the Master of Somervill, takes ther leave, promiseing to be with him 1597.

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tymeously the next morning, ther being at that present tyme litle appearance he should have dyed soe shortly; for his second sone Hugh being in Louthian when his father, the Lord Somervill, fell in this sicknesse, soe soon as he receaved advertisement of his conditione, he hasted to the Raploch, where he arryved but a few houres before his father dyed, to receave his blessing and commands to setle with his eldest brother. This nobleman, Hugh Lord Somervill, dyed att the Raploch, upon the twentieth and fourth day of March, 1597, and of his oune age sextieth and third, being buryed by both his sones in the quier of the old church of Cambusnethen, a fatall omen that few or none of the house of Cowthally should be buryed hereftir in the ancient sepulcher of ther fathers. And now observe the vanitie and unruely passiones of men whill alyve, noe consanguinity of blood, noe affinitie by allyaes, no obligationes of the neerest freindship and kindred, noe mutuall defence in these brocken and syding tymes, as being of one and the self-same familie and sirname, could mollifie the rancor, and compose the spirit of this nobleman and his cousine Cambusnethen, the Laird with the Plaides, so much as to bring them to the termes of common civilitie one towards

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the other, and that dureing the termes of ther wholl lyves; and now behold one buriall place, if not the same grave, containes ther bodies when dead: a most remarkable providence to teach all men sobrietie, and not to contend malitiously in the lawfullest suites at law, which brought here two principall families of one and the same name and kindred to that height of animositie and malice that by all wayes and meanes they studyed to destroy each other, albeit themselves expected at last to perrish in the quarrel.

Of many children this nobleman had by his lady, Dame Helenor Seatoune, ther survived himself only fyve, two sones and three daughters. His sones wer Gilbert Lord Somervill and Hugh Somervill of Drum. His daughters wer poorly and meanly marryed, the first upon the goodman of Stoneflett, a gentleman of the name of Hamiltone; the second upon one Thomas Somervill, ordinarly named Thomas of Lanerk; the third lived with ther mother att Tranet, in East Louthian, and dyed a maid.[1] I find that Dame Helenor Seatoune, relict of Hugh Lord Somervill, transacted with her youngest sone, Hugh Somervill of Drum, and renunced in his

[1] Douglas adds a fourth unmarried daughter.

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favoures her liferent right to the lands in Louthian, for twelve hundereth markes, to be payed to her or her assignayes yearly, for which her sone and Raploch stood bound. This renunciatione, by way of contract, is dated att Tranent, the twentieth and sevent of June, 1597. She outlived her husband some sex years, and then dyeing, was buryed by her two sones and her oune great relationes in the chappell of Seatoune, the ordinary burial-place of her predecessores.

Off Gilbert Lord Somervill, the twelfth Barrone of Carnwath, the nynth Lord Somervill, and the nyneteinth from Sir Gualter de Somervill, and of Velvit Eye, the fourth Barrone of Cambusnethen.

1597. Off Gilbert, now Lord Somervill, there is litle more to be said then what is allready related in his father's life, haveing, eftir the sale of his estate, lived att Cambusnethen with his father-in-law in ane obscure and private conditione. However, to compleat these memories, seing he was the last Lord Somervill, haveing left only three daughters to succeed him, I shall give the remainder of his memorie in short; for the truth

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is, ther is nothing in publict or private evidences to commend him ; and as to his personall remembrance, it's not only hatefull to these particularly and principally concerned in the familie of Drum, but universally to the whole sirname of Somervill, they looking upon him as ther undoer, in regaird of their being left without a head and chieff to defend and protect them in the qualitie of a nobleman.

Gilbert Lord Somervill, succeeded to his father Lord Hugh, as to all his titles and honoures, in *anno* 1597, haveing been in the fie of his estate since the death of William Master of Somervill, Lord Hughes eldest sone, unto whom Gilbert his brother entered himself heir, whose service was held att Lanerk before John Hamiltone, sone to the Lord Hamiltone, then shirref principall of Lanerk, and Robert Rae Burges of Hamiltone, his depute, upon the second day of May, 1592. All the persones of the inqueist for the most part being of mean qualitie and small fortunes, Blaickwood and Stonebyres only excepted. The first thing of any consequence Lord Gilbert did, eftir his service and his being infeft, was to secure these gentlemen of the name of Somervill, unto whom he had submitted all the differences that was betwext his father, bro-

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ther, and himself. In order to this, he dealles severally with them, and promised largely, provyding they would favour him in ther determinatione; but to non more then to Alexander Somervill, younger of Plaine, a gentleman of great spirit, and ambitious above measure, who considering himself as one of the same familie, and cousine germane once removed to Lord Gilbert, by his mother, who was daughter to James Lord Somervill, and sister to Lord Hugh, he concluded if the lordship of Somervill was to be dilapidate by the folly and madnesse of his cousine, ther was non could pretend better to it then himself, never remembering that Hugh Somervill of Drum, Lord Gilbert's only brother, yea, and his oune uncle, James Somervill, only brother to Lord Hugh, but also the house of Spittell, Blackpooll, and the familie of Cambusnethen itself, and all its cadites, stood in his way; for by any thing that ever I could see, the house of Plaine was the second or third knoune to come from the house of Cowthally, since they had any interest in Cliddesdale; but self-interest and pride in this young man blinded all these considerationes, and makes this gentleman conclude a bargane with Lord Gilbert in the tyme he was Master, upon what termes non knowes, but

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these gentlemen joyned with him in the submissione, and such as Gilbert was interdyted to, all of whom consented and subscryved that contract, which contained the ampillest and formallist dispositione that ever I read, and that to the wholl barronies of Carnwath, and Lintoune, and the eight pund land of Inglishberry Grainge, with the teyndes, personage and viccarage of four parishes. This dispositione is dated at Plaine, the nyneteinth day of March, 1593, seven dayes only before the acceptatione of the submissione, and ane moneth prior to the decreit arbitrall, pronunced att Edinburgh, which makes me judge in charitie, that it hes been a deed of trust done purposely to keep Lord Gilbert, then Master of Somervill, that it might not be in his power to dilapidate his fortune, or dispose of any part therof without ther consentes; but that which makes this contryveance the more unfavourable is, that it was transacted, carryed on, and concluded without his father or brother's knowledge, the parties designing more ther oune particular advantage, especially the Lairds of Plain, elder and younger, then the good and standing of the house of Cowthally, which they soe much pretended.

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Whatever was in this I shall not be curious to search, or if it did consist within my knowledge, should I divulge the same, to the prejudice of these ruined families who might have read ther erroures by ther punishments, both in this and the decreit arbitrall, within a few years thereftir; for it was eftir ther sentence and Lord Hughes death, before this dispositione was knoune, and then ther is upon it ane inhibitione raised and served upon Gilbert Lord Somervill, dated att Edinburgh the fourth day of November, 1598. What followed upon this dispositione and inhibitione, or how Lord Gilbert came againe to have the absolute right in his oune persone, I understand not; but immediately upon his father's death, he intents both an illegal and forcible removeing of his brother Hugh from his house of Cowthally, the samen in a maner being garrisoned by the good man of Raploch and his brother Hugh, whose lady, Margaret Hamiltone, with a number of her name, and some of the name of Somervill, that stood for her husband's interest, being then in the house, the same being requyred and instruments taken upon the refuise-all, Lord Gilbert, with the assistance of his father-in-law, Cambusnethen, prepares to assault it. In order to this designe, he provydes ladders

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att Carnwath toune, and made most of the horses within Carnwath barronie fetch in heather from the muires, made up in bunshes for filling up the double ditches that was about Cowthally; from Cambusnethen place ther came four hagbites of found,[1] as they are named, that used to stand upon the battlementes of the Bairds their tower, and the rounds of the Hamiltounes worke. These being placed upon a sandie hill, that overlookes and is neer to the house of Cowthally, at which they made some shott to litle purpose; for these small pieces served better to defend a house, then to prejudge it farther then its keepers who might have been killed by ther shott. These in the house continually fiyred upon the beseidgers, but ther was litle skaith done, save a few hurt; the principall being Adam Somervill, sone to Robert Somervill, a sone of the house of Cambusnethen, brother to Velvit Eye; this gentleman eftirward dyed of his woundes. It is re-

[1] Stat. 1540, cap. 73, directs, that all landed men, among other arms, do provide themselves with "ane hagbute of found, called hagbut of crockert, with their calmes, bulletis, and pellokis of lead and irne." From other authorities, the hagbut, or arquebus, or croc, so called from its resting on a hook when fired, appears to differ from the "hagbut of found," which was probably a kind of swivel.

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ported by some that was ane eye witnes to this actione, that some of the balls that were shott from Cowthally were found at West Scheil, neer a mile from the place.

The king and counsell, upon the report of this great breatch of the peace, and lawlesse way of proceeding in both parties, wer highly incensed. Wherupon a lyon herauld was presently sent, commanding the Lord Somervill, and his father-in-law, the Laird of Cambusnethen, to reteire from the house of Cowthally and disperse ther followers; likewayes to the Lady Drum, the Hamiltones of Raploch, and these of the name of Somervill within the house, to give up the same to the king's majestie to be disposed upon at his royall pleasure, with certificatione to both parties in caice of disobedience, they and all ther adherers should be declared traytors and rebelles, and according proceeded against. This being intimate by sound of trumpet, all of them prepared to give ready obedience therto. The Lord Somervill and Cambusnethen reteires ther men with ther small artillerie; and the house was delyvered up by the Lady Drum and the Hamiltones to the lyon herauld, the later end of Apryle, 1597, and by him to Robert Somervill, of Overcallo, to be kept untill his majesties far-

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ther pleasure was known. This gentleman eftirward was a great confident of the Lord Somervilles, being his ladyes uncle, a stout and resolute man, who both befor this and eftirward committed many wylde prankes. Ther is one I cannot omitt, because it has some what of a jeast in it, albeit it fell out long before this, in the tyme of his father, the Laird with the Plaides, and that necessitie was pretended which hes noe law; however, the story is this.

John, the Laird with the Plaides, haveing receaved much damadge by this young gentleman his sone, both in his oune goods and in these of his tennentes, he was forced, much against his oune inclinatione, by the importunitie of his wife, who was step-mother to this gentleman Robert, to petitione Matthew Earle of Lennox, regent for the tyme, from whom he procures an ample warrand to apprehend his sone, imprisone his persone, and keep him in sure waird in all tyme comeing; and further, by the commission he was secured from all hazard that himself or others employed by him might incurre, if slaughter or mutilatione should happen in apprehending of his sone. This warrand or commissione is granted att Linlithgow, the nynth of Jully, 1571. It was not long before Robert receaved intelli-

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gence of his father's intentione, and the warrand procured for that effect: he resolves, therefore, in ane act to goe beyond all that hitherto he had done. Having therefore informed himself by his secret spyes, that ther was the next day a great melder of oates comeing from the Over Maynes of Cambusnethen to Coltnesse milne, there to be ground, he darnes[1] himself and a few of his companiones all day neer the road, where he was sure the horse and meall would returne, which accordingly they did about nyne at night, being eight horses and three servants, who wer all seazed upon without resisting, for they knew it was to noe purpose to make any; for if they had it would have faired ill with them. Robert haveing commanded his father's servants to turne the horses, and follow one he had appoynted to lead the way, without noyse or clamour, himself with four others followes at some distance. Thus they travelled all night eastward, the poor men knew not weill whither untill neer the breake of day, that Robert comes up to them and desyres the servants to returne home, and tell his father, that if the meall sold weill he

[1] Concealed.

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might expect back his horses; but if not, he should have him excused in makeing money of them to supply his necessitie, soe requyred, for he knew his father could quickly supplie himself with others. The servants wer glad to be liberate, for a panick fear had seazed upon them, least this furious young man should have led them to the gallowes. The wayes in that part of the countrey being neer Linlithgow, was unknoune to them, wherefore it was past ten the next evening before they reached Cambusnethen, to give the laird ane account of his horse and meall; and as for the place where they left his sone, and whither he intended to carry the meall and horses, they could say nothing. I leave it to any to judge how concerned the father was, possibly more for the affront (as he apprehended) than for the worth of the thing; but ther was noe helpe, patience perforce was the best remedie.

Robert, soe soon as he had turned off his father's men, takes the strait way for Linlithgow. Haveing baited the horse two hours at the sun ryseing, he sendes away three of his companiones with all ther horse from him, the other two with himself upon foot, takes the leading of the horse with the meall, and comes to the toune of Lin-

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lithgow much about the ordinary tyme of the breaking up of the market, where they dealt very ingenuously, by telling the officers of the market, and people that bought it, that it was the Laird of Cambusnethen's meal came there to be sold. The meall was good of itself, being made for the use of the house, and now sold with the cheapest of the market, it quickly went off, and was all converted to money. His next care was how he might dispose of the horses, being resolved to sell them at the fair of Stirling, which was to be the very next day. But he was diswaded from this course by these that was with him, as haveing too much hazard in it; for if the horses should be knoune, as they might easily be by any comeing from Cambusnethen parishen, and there challenged, they might goe fair all to hang; and albeit ther wer noe such hazard, yet, the very selling of the horses might soe irritat and incense his father as would make him for ever irreconceallable; therefore they advysed him to convoy back the horses in the best manner he could againe, and that act probably would induce his father to setle some fortune upon him, wherby he might live in tyme comeing as a gentleman, in peace, without incurreing the danger of the lawes and his father's displeasure. This coun-

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sell he followes, sending back all the horses, with a letter to his eldest brother James, intreating he might mediate with ther father in his behalf for a reconciliatione, which accordingly took effect within some few weeks; and this gentleman, Robert Somervill, had the lands of Overcallo, within the barronie of Carnwath, conferred upon him for his subsistance.

This act of Robert's seazing upon his father's horses and meall, with the contryveance, and severall circumstances relateing therto, being eftirward told to the Regent Lennox and some noblemen of the counsell that was with him at Linlithgow that very day that this pranke was committed, made them both laugh heartily at the thing, and admire the dareing confidence of the young gentleman, especially when they remembered how active his father had been a few dayes before to obtaine a warrand for his sones apprehending. The wholl of this story was related to the author, by Habbie Somervill of Goukethrappel, who was knoune certanely to have lived upward of ane hundered years, and dyed in *anno* 1648.

In June, eftir the giveing up of the house of Cowthally, Gilbert Lord Somervill, James Somervill of Cambusnethen, Gavin Hamilton of

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Raploch, and Hugh Somervill of Drum, comes to Edinburgh where they had trysted, and wer in good hopes to compose all differences by ane amicable agreement, according to the termes of the submissione, which, dureing Lord Hughes lifetime, his sone Hugh durst never condescend to; but his commandes at his death, and his oune inclinatione, as weill as that of his father-in-lawes Raploch, tended to peace. Ther was severall offers made by Lord Gilbert and Cambusnethen, but soe farre voide of the termes and conditiones mentioned in the submissione, that all of them was rejected. Wherupon the commoneing brocke up, and both parties prepares to prosecute the law, what neither violence nor freindly trysting could effectuat. This actione continued all Lord Gilbert's life-tyme undecyded, and at lenth, fourteinth years eftir this lord's death, was agreed be the Earle of Marre, who payed to Hugh Somervill of Drum only four thousand merkes for all that he could clame be the decreit arbitrall, either upon his father Lord Hughes account, or his oune. This was greatly to his prejudice, seing he had much to clame be the decreit arbitrall, albeit in his father's life-tyme, for fear of his anger, he had disouned the same and endeavoured to reduce it; and though

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that had failled, his eftir game in a few years might have carryed to him what at first he designed, especially seing his interest was sufficiently secured by all legall diligence against his brother Lord Gilbert's estate, soe that he could not dispose of any part of the same without fulfilling all the conditiones of the decreit arbitrall conceaved in his brother Hughes favoures. But as the Earle of Marres greatnesse darred him upon the one hand, soe Sir James Bannatyne of Newhall's counsell (with whose second daughter Lillias Bannatyne he had matched his only sone James,) prevailled upon the other hand, and therupon a discharge by the father and sone was granted to the Earle of Marre, Carnwath, and to the heir of the late Lord Somervill, of all that they could clame by vertue of the decreit arbitrall, or any other manner of way whatsomever. Haveing a little digressed, I returne to Gilbert Lord Somervill.

Who comeing from Edinburgh with a warrand from the king and counsell, for the delyverie of his house of Cowthally in his oune possessione, which accordingly he receaves from Robert Somervill of Overcallo, who had been intrusted with the keeping therof since the giveing of it up by the Hamiltones, and these of the name of So-

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mervill who adhered to his brother Hugh, that, dureing his father's life had for the most part lived with him att Cowthally, or at the Raploch with his father-in-law; but eftir this both the brethren betakes themselves to ther respective homes, Lord Gilbert to Cowthally, and his brother to the Drum, where they lived in much jealousie each of other, because of their severall pretentiones. Lord Gilbert feared that if the decreit arbitrall wer reduced, his brother had a fair prospect of the lordship of Somervill, being infeft in the wholl by his father Lord Hugh; ther umquhile brother William Master of Somervill, from whom he deryved his right, and was entered heir unto, haveing but a base infeftment from his father, clogged with severall limitationes and reservationes in his oune favoures, which could not but militate against him now representing his brother William. And again he apprehended that if his brother Drum obtained all that he might justly clame by the decreit arbitrall, his conditione would be hard enough, considering the great burdenes that was upon his estate, and the present disorders in his wholl affaires. Upon the other hand, his brother was not without his oune feares, knowing that the lands of Drum, Gillmertoune, and Gutters, which

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he broocked by his father Lord Hughes donatione, were but lately recovered from the Lairds of Cambusnethen, by a decreit of redemptione in his favoures, which was againe brought in questione by the Lairds of Cambusnethen, ther raiseing summonds to reduce that decreit, wherin they had the assistance and concurrence of his brother Lord Gilbert, being ther eone-in-law.

Thus both the brethren stood in doubt each 1598.
of other, which made them remisse in prosecuting law suites, as not knowing what might be the consequence of the same, Lord Gilbert still keeping his residence at Cowthally, and haveing a lady of noe great prudence, lived very unfrugally by keeping open house to a number of idle and vain companiones, both of his oune relationes and the house of Cambusnethen; and besydes these, being at a deadly feed with the house of Lie,[1] because of his drawing ther teynd, as haveing right to the teynd of the wholl out parish of Lanerk, he mentained many debauched and vagrant gentlemen that had no employment, but made it ther great businesse by their frequent

[1] This very ancient family was then represented by Sir James Lockhart of Lee.

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quarrelles to foment and keep up these feedes for a lyveliehood to themselves. Thus his burdens dayly incressed, and that by his domestick mismannadgement and his inadvertancy to the main concernes of his estate, wherin depended not only his credit and honour, but the preservatione of his wholl fortune and memorie for the future, yet noe consideratione of these, nor the remembrance that he was the head of ane noble and ancient familie, could restraine him from his frequent debauches, or make him forbear that unhappy companie that led him thereto, soe that in lesse then four years space eftir his father Lord Hughes death, being straitened by his creditores, particularly by Sir James Lockhart of Lie, ane intelligent and active gentleman, who, to have his revange of the Lord Somervill and the wholl name, from whom he had receaved many indignities and affrontes, being hard putt to it many tymes for his life as he was goeing and comeing from Edinburgh, much of his way lying through these boundes where the name of Somerville did inhabite, and wherunto ther lord had right of propperty or superiority; this gentleman, the Laird of Lie, haveing acquyred right to a comprysing of ten thousand markes, which several creditores had led against the Lord So-

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mervill's estate, upon this apprysing, Lie raises summonds, and persewes for mailles and dueties, thereby to putt himself in possessione. The legall of the apprysing being allready expyred, and all other legall dilligence done requisite in such caices, Lie at lenth obtaines a decreit, wherewith he rested content, without offering to putt himself in possessione conforme to his right.

This actione of Lies stirred up all Lord Gil- 1599.
bert's creditores to crave ther money, which he not being able to doe, nor to give such securitie as they requyred, his father-in-law Cambusnethen, observeing the madnesse and folly of his sone-in-lawe's actings, refuised to engadge for him, or so much as to concern himself in any of his affaires, which in effect was the ruine of all; and herein Cambusnethen was exceedingly to blame; for being a gentleman of much credit and opulent fortune, soe nerlie concerned to the house of Cowthally itself, being ane ancient branche of the same familie, that laying aside the new allya, wherby he was obleidged to have done his outmost upon the account of his grand-children, to have preserved that familie wherof he was come; but soe farre was he from this, that, for any thing I can find by the writtes yet extant, and the testimonie of severall persones latelie

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removed, who lived at that tyme, and wer privie to Cambusnethen's affaires, that neither by his authoritie as a father-in-law did he command, nor as a weill-wisher did he advyse or strenthen his sone-in-lawe's hands by his assistance. What should have moved Cambusnethen to this unnaturalitie conduct I cannot easily guesse, if some former experiences hes not assured him that all his endeavoures would prove ineffectual to preserve ane estate which the lord and master thereof was soe compendiously destroying.

1600. However, I find dureing the year 1600 ther was trystes betwext Gilbert Lord Somervill and Hugh Somervill of Drum, ther fathers-in-law Cambusnethen and Raploch, which at lenth resolved in this, that Hugh Somervill of Drum, quytting all his former pretentiones to the barronies of Carnwath and Lintoune, or any part of the lordship of Somervill, wherin Lord Gilbert stood infeft, and likewayes to discharge him of all he could clame by the decreit arbitrall, or any other manner of way by whatsoever right flowing from his father, or otherwayes established in his persone, except the lands in Louthian, upon which Gilbert Lord Somervill should be obleidged for the payment of fourtieth thousand punds Scots to him and his heirs and assig-

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nayes, to sell and dispone to and in favoures of his brother Hugh Somervill of Drum, and his heirs male, the wholl lordship of Somervill, with this provisione allwayes, that it should be leisume for the said Gilbert Lord Somervill, or his heirs male, at any tyme dureing his oune life, or the life of his brother, to redeem with ther oune propper money allennerly the said lordship of Somervill from him or his heirs for the payment of fyftieth thousand punds Scots to the said Hugh Somervill of Drum, his heirs, executores, or assignayes, and that the possessione of the estate of Cowthally should continue in the persone of Hugh Somervill of Drum, or his heirs, untill the payment of the fyftieth thousand punds, or at least the reall offer therof in Saint Geille's church;[1] and upon ther refuiseall to be consigned in the hands of the Dean of Gild, untill the acceptatione thereof by the said Hugh or his heirs.

This businesse was in the moneth of Jully, 1601, setled by commoning, and looked upon as a concluded bargane by all men. The wholl

[1] The tomb of the Regent Murray, in the church of Saint Giles, or High Church of Edinburgh, was a place frequently assigned for the payment of money.

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name of Somervill universally wer mueh satisfied with this affair, as considering it the only meanes now left for preservatione of the familie; but this house (which now for twelve generationes, in the space of neer three hundered years, had stood in full integritie, in the qualitie of two barrones and nyne noblemen, as they had from the year 1066 to the year 1300 been barrones of Whichenour in England, in the countie of Staffoordshyre, and Lintoune in Scotland, in Roxburghshyre) wer now to suffer desolatione, or at least a great eclipse, both of ther honoures and fortune. God Almightie, who, according to the pleasure of his oune will, for the manifestatione of his oune power and holy ends, raises up some families, conferreing dignities and honoures, to try as it wer how they improve these mercies to his glory and honour in ther generationes; soe again, upon the abounding of his favoures and ther unthankefullnesse, he is pleased sometymes soe to extirpate the memorie of some families and sirnames as not to leave a man to pisse against the wall; but to others being more mercyfull and gracious, he preserves a seed, that ther rememberance perish not from the earth, as was the caice of this worthie familie of Cowthally, who, notwithstanding that it ceased in

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Lord Gilbert by the sale of his estate, and in his haveing noe heirs male, wherby the dignitie of a nobleman perished in regaird his only brother, Hugh Somervill of Drum, as heir of taillzie, refuised to accept of the same eftir Lord Gilbert's death, because he thought his fortune not suiteable to that dignitie. But, to return to the purpose in hand; the payment of that fourtieth punds which Lord Gilbert should have receaved as the pryce of his estate, was to be payed by his brother Hugh in this manner. Drum, Gillmertoune, and Gutters was to be sold for twentieth thousand punds Scots, and that pryce was really offered then for these lands by severall, and the money ready to be told doune, upon the perfecting of the bargane and sealling the papers. With Lord Gilbert for the other twentieth thousand punds, Raploch, James Lord Rosse, his sone-in-law, the Laird of Stenhouse and Silvertoune-hill, should have been surety for the payment thereof in three years space.

Thus the pryce being setled, and the manner of payment agreed upon, it was thought a concluded bargane; but old Raploch returneing to the countrey, took occasione to speak of this affair to his freinds, and craved ther advyce. Some of them being worthie and ingenuous gen-

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tlemen, counselled him to go on in the bargane, seing it tended to the preservatione of a noble and ancient familie, the honour and advantage of his sone-in-law, wherof God should make him the happy instrument, to his everlasting commendatione; but others, and these of his greatest confidence, who needes would appear wyser and more foirseeing then the former, alleadged ther was neither safety nor credit for him to engadge in soe brocken ane affaire, wherin ther was soe many intricacies as the most judicious could not know how to the brother's different clames and pretentiones, seeing neither former writtes nor contracts could obleidge them to peace and quyetnesse. Likewayes they alleadged he ought to consider he had yet two sones to provyde, besyde his eldest, and two daughters yet to portione. Therefore it was not for him to engadge himself and his freinds for soe great a soume, especially to these he knew had him at noe good will, upon the account of his oune estate, wherunto they pretended right, as haveing marryed the true heir therof. By all this they meant the Laird of Cambusnethen, Velvet Eye, who had marryed the only daughter of Archibald Hamiltone of Raploch, who was truely heires of that estate.

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Farther, these gentlemen asserted, it was dishonourable that haveing mainly by his credit purchased ane estate to his sone-in-law, the same within a few years, by the right of redemptione, should be plucked out of his son-in-law's hands, and probably shortly thereftir by sale conferred upon a stranger; and as for the ten thousand punds which should be payed more then what they were to receave as the pryce of the lands, in caice of redemptione, it was of noe consideration, being soe inconsiderable a sum they will never stand upon it, haveing a discharge from his sone-in-law of all his pretentiones to that estate, which might have amounted to a farre greater soume then that was. These wer the reasones adduced both for and against Rapploche's engadgeing for his sone-in-law in the bargane betwext him and his brother, Lord Gilbert. How truely or generously these arguments wer pressed that tended to disswade a father-in-law to engadge for a sone that was to have thereby soe opulent and great a fortune, that within a few years thereftir payed more then sex tymes that soume, I leave it to any rationall persone to judge.

But, laying asyde the fatalitie of the thing, or rather God's secret judgement, which all men

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ought to reverence and not pry into, I cannot but admire the folly, or rather madnesse, of these wicked counsellors; for wherein could the hazard lye? The barronie of Carnwath, as to propperty and superiority, was inteire. The right and possessione unto severall other lands, besydes the teynds of four parishes, was unquestionable; noe incumberances upon the estate considerable, but what the brethren occasioned themselves by ther pretentiones, which, if once removed, a man of mean governement in a few years might have payed not only that twentieth thousand punds, which was all the hazard, but doubled the same, without either fewing or selling a roume of that fair barronie.

As to the arguments themselves, being three in number, the first two scarce deserves any answear, seing it is weill enough knoune, at that tyme, Raploch was worth of yearly rent, in three severall shyres, more then twentie thousand merkes be year, and that without any burden; soe that his children could incurre noe prejudice, albeit their father had been the first payer, seing his qune fortune was soe great, and his releiff soe certane. For the second reasone it was frivolous, if not malitious, because they could not but know that Cambusnethen, upon agreement long be-

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fore, had quytt all pretentiones to Raploch's estate. For the third reasone, it appeares at first to be of more weight, seing Raploch was principally to consider his sone-in-law and his successiones interest, which being to have established upon them ane estate by the sale of ther oune, allready secured, and by his engadgement for the rest of the money, if eftirward it wer redeemed, it might be to ther losse, notwithstanding of the ten thousand punds they wer to have more nor the pryce of the lands payed be them to Lord Gilbert, before it was holden to be redeemed; for as to that soume of ten thousand punds, it was still believed that more might be recovered by the pleaes depending against Lord Gilbert, which indeed wer not a few, at his brother Hugh Somervill of Drum's instance, but to litle or noe purpose, as eftirward shall be declared.

It cannot be denyed but these foirgoeing reasones might weigh much with Raploch, seing his sone-in-law and grand-children wer to lose a fair expectatione if these lands should be redeemed; but when it is remembered the main designe of this transactione was the preservatione of the familie of Cowthally, and keeping the lordship of Somervill inteire, and in the name, by either of the brethren, it was all one in

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whose persone it stood. The heir male failling in one, might have been supplyed by the other. But grant the estate had been redeemed from his sone-in-law by Lord Gilbert, or his heirs male, what losse could Hugh Somervill of Drum sustaine, being in possessione of the wholl lordship of Somervill, and not comptable for his intromissiones, haveing power likewayes to wadsett or sell soe much land as the twentieth thousand pounds came to, for which his father-in-law Raploch stood engadged; for where was now the hazard? and really it was soe much the lesse upon the redemptione, if that should have happened, because of the payment of the wholl money, whereby he was releived, and a faire soume in hand for his sone-in-law to purchase a much greater fortune then what he had sold, being the lands of Drum, Gillmertoune, and Gutters, soe that in the judgement of all men then, as weill as these now alyve, Raploch was much to blame to suffer that bargane to goe back through his default; and as I am certanly informed, he did much regrate it eftirward, and could have been content to have redeemed his errour with a considerable part of his oune fortune, when it was too late; yea, to his death he still accused himself for not relying more upon his oune judge-

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ment, and the counsell of these ingenuous gentlemen that advysed him to goe on in that bargane, then to others who wer for the contrary, whom he could never look upon eftir the lordship of Somervill was sold but with indignatione and contempt.

Upon Raploche's declyneing, all hope of a bargane or any accommodatione betwext the brethren was quyte frustrate, so that Lord Gilbert for the present haveing noe male succesione, his burdenes dayly incressing, and his creditores becomeing clamorous, he resolves (the fatall period off the house of Cowthally being now come) to strycke up a bargane with some one or other, to free himself from these incumberances his ryotous and unfrugall way of living had engadged him unto: And behold here is a fitt occasione and opportunity offered to the sad regrate and rememberance of the wholl name of Somervill.

John Earle of Marr,[1] by the death of his lady, being a widow, marryes for his second wife Dame

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[1] This nobleman, the fourteenth Lord Erskine and seventh Earl of Marr, was a statesman of great ability, and high in the favour of James VI. He had reposed in him a trust which had become almost hereditary in his family, the charge of the heir-apparent during his non-age; and he was further distinguish-

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Maria Stewart, sister to the Duke of Lennox, who being of a howtie spirit, disdained that the children begotten upon her should be any wayes inferior, either as to honoures or estate, to the children of the first marriage, she leaves noe meanes unassayed to advance ther fortunes, how warrantably and justly I shall not say. The Lords Livingstoune, Elphingstoune, Torphichan, and the present Earle of Marre can best testifie whose estates this lady went neer to have ruined, as she wholly did that of the Lord Somerville's. The meanes that conduced and gave the first opportunity therto was dureing the tyme the Earle of Marre made his residence at Wallstoune, within Cliddesdale, these lands then belonging to him, for his recreatione at halking. In this sport he exercised himself much, when

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ed by the dexterity with which he conducted the secret negotiations that paved the way for James's succession to the English throne. The king rewarded his services by creating him a privy-counsellor, and bestowing on him the order of the garter. His character is drawn in very dark colours by the author of the Memoirs; but much allowance is to be made for the natural irritation he expresses against a nobleman to whose interference with Gilbert Lord Somervill he seems to ascribe the loss of the ancient patrimony of the baronial house. In several particulars he seems to have recorded what he probably received from his father, a very exaggerated account of these transactions.

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his majestie's pleasure or state affaires (wherin he was much imployed) allowed his lordship leasure to follow that sport. It was dureing his residence in that place, and while he continued his passetyme, that he had the company of Gilbert Lord Somervill, and with him became very intimate, and inward professeing much freindship and kyndenesse, withall declareing that as heretofore he had been serviceable and steedable to him in that disorderly affair betwext him and his brother Drum, soe for the future he should find how farre he would imploy his interest with the king to cause his brother come to a setlement with him in all ther differences. Lord Gilbert, who was of noe deep reach, beleived all this to proceed from a reall designe the Earle of Marre had to doe him service, knowing weill what interest he had at court, and how much he might prevaill to compell his brother to accept of ane mean compositione for all the large pretentione he had against his estate, did therfore willingly embrace this occasione to make knoune to the Earle of Marre not only the materiall differences betwext him and his brother Drum, but more particularly the secrets and wholl stait of his privat affaires and bad conditione, craveing his lord-

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ship's advyce, and begging his favour and assistance att court.

The Earle of Marre being now informed by Lord Gilbert's self, and haveing more perfect knowledge from others, of all the Lord Somervailles concernes, he made it his businesse from that tyme furth to act vigorously in the hope he now had to make the lordship of Somervill his oune, either by conqueist or marriage, Lord Gilbert at this tyme haveing only daughters to succeed in his estate. In order to this designe, he often invites the Lord Somervill and his lady (a woman of a simple and mean spirit, farre short of the ladyes that had been before her in the house of Cowthally, and much more degenerat from the daughters of the familie of Cambusnethen, off which she was one,) over to Wallstoune, where they wer courteouslie receaved and nobly intertained by the Earle of Marre. His lady [caressed] them at a high rate, who, albeit she was extremely proud and malitious beyond all measure to those that in the least opposed her projectes, how unwarrantable soever they wer, if they tended to her oune and children's advantage it was all one, yet in the poynt of courtship and civilitie her ladyship was short of non, wher,

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of the Lord Somervill and his lady had sad experience. The effect, at lenth, was the ruine of them and ther familie in a few moneths thereftir; for, dureing these interviews, both at Walstoune and Cowthally, the Lady Marre seeing Lord Gilbert's eldest daughter, named Mary eftir her mother, was much taken with the splendent aspect of that young noblewoman, who being now about the fourteinth year of her age, promised much as to her inward qualificationes; for her persone and treates, the most censoreous eye, how malitious soever could find noe blemish, soe that the delicacy of this young ladyes persone, and sweetnesse of her dispositione, mad her enjoy two husbands before she attained to the twentieth year of her age.[1] It was to this young noblewoman, heires apparent to ane opulent fortune, if it had been rightly mannadged, that the Lady Marre proffered the service of her eldest sone James, eftirward Earle of Buchan, a young nobleman much about her oune age, and

[1] Mary, eldest daughter of Gilbert Lord Somerville, was twice married; 1st, to James Lord Torphichan; 2dly to William Douglas of Pumpherston, by whom she had a son, Sir Joseph Douglas, who was drowned, with many other persons of quality, when the vessel in which James Duke of York returned to Scotland, struck upon the shoal called the Leman-Ore.

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then att the colledge of Saint Andrewes. This motione being made in presence of her parents, she was pleased to answear the same only by a low salutatione to the Lady Marre, and a look to them, which abundantly declared her respects to the one and reverence to the other. Lord Gilbert and his lady never consulted the litle reasone they had, (for the truth is, they wer never masters of much) but hastily snatched at the baitt, which eftirward drew them to their destructione.

Eftir several trystes anent this businesse, it was at lenth agreed by a minut of contract that John Earle of Marre should marrie his eldest sone James, begotten upon Dame Maria Stewart, upon Mistres Maria Somervill, daughter and appearing heires to Gilbert Lord Somervill, and with her enjoy and inherite all the liveing and lordship of Somervill, with the titles and honores belonging therto, eftir the decease of the said Gilbert Lord Somervill, and the reservatione of his oune and his lady ther liferent rights, with severall other conditiones, wholly in behalf of the Earle of Marre and that intended marriage, without soe much as any reservatione in behalf of the name or continueing the house of Cowthally therin, by any clause in favoures of the

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heir of taillzie, which was his brother Drum, soe that, in effect, it had been all one the succeeding of this marriage, or that which eftir followed, to the familie and preservatione of the Lord Somervilles memorie; for the one designed as weill as the other the extirpatione therof.

This bussinesse had been much spocken to in the beginning of the year 1601, but in regaird the Earle of Marre, with some others, was sent ambassadoures to the Queen of England, upon the discovery of that grand designe the Earle of Essex had to seaze upon her majesties person, and secure the same, untill all these persones wer removed from court that had withstood his proceedinges in the governement. This the queen takes soe ill, and for some other secrets of state, that, a litle before Marres arryveall, Essex had lost his head, therby to wairne the greatest of subjects not to be presumptuous, nor to encroach too farre upon the favoure or intimacie of ther prince or princesse, seing as they raise them with the one hand, out of meer favour, or for some notable service by them performed, so doe they throw them doune with the other, when they begin to exalt themselves, and forgetes that they are still subjectes.

Marres embassage being performed, he re-

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turns in the spring, and is graciously receaved of the king, unto whome he gives an accompt of his negotiatione, wherwith his majestie was weill pleased. Haveing remained some tyme att court, he resolves a journey to the west before his goeing north, and accordingly neer the latter end of May he comes to Wallstoune with his lady, where again (haveing visited the Lord Somervill att Cowthally,) he pressed that ther might be a minute drawen and subscryved according to ther former commoning, with this additionall clause, that seing the marriage was not presently to be accomplished, but suspended for a year, in regaird of the age of the parties, especially his sone, who was then but entered into the sexteinth year of his age; therefore it was condescended to that, if it should happen that either or both of the saids parties should dye before the solemnizeing of the marriage, or any dissatisfactione or dislyke should happen betwext the persones themselves, (haveing as yett never seen one another,) betwext or at the tyme appoynted for the marriage, then this present minute should be null and voyd, in soe farre as concerned the accomplishment therof. But in regaird the Earle of Marre, upon the subscryveing of the minute, or at Mertimes thereftir, was

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to advance twentieth thousand punds for the paying the Lord Somervilles wholl debtes, therefore Lord Gilbert and his heirs should be obleidged (besydes the reall securitie that was to be given out of his estate upon the payment of this money,) if the marriage went back upon his syde, or that he was to sell the lordship of Somervill to any thereftir, the same should be disponed to the Earle of Marre under redemptione, for the payment of other twentieth thousand punds. And further, by this minute it was provyded, that if through the Earle of Marre or his sones default, the marriage should not succeed, then of the twentieth thousand punds advanced by the Earle of Marre, a third part should be retained by the Lord Somervill, the earle being obleidged to renunce all right, title, and clame he could pretend to the estate of Cowthally, upon the payment of thretteinth thousand three hundered threetieth and three punds sex shilling Scots allennerlie.[1]

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[1] From the tenor of this minute it seems, that the Earl of Marr's intentions were honourable and friendly to Lord Somerville, and that he seriously entertained thoughts of matching his son into the family. And thus much seems to be admitted by the author himself.

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It is to be supposed, if Gilbert Lord Somervill had been soe happy as to have keeped himself by this minute, the later part wherof being soe much in his favoures, in regaird the marriage failled upon the Earle of Marre, his lady, and her sones parts, for all ther great interest at court, he might in tyme have made a good bargane of it, and that the Earle of Marre understood very weill, for when upon the death of the Earle of Buchan, in September following, who leaveing noe heir male, he begane to have his thoughts that way, resolveing to match his eldest sone of his second marriage with the heires therof, wher ther was non else pretended a right to her estate, then with the heires of Somervill, whose uncle Drum claimed soe large a share, both without and by a decreit arbitrall, as might hazard the proppertie of the wholl.

The Earle of Marre finding himself insnared by this minute that was agreed upon and subscryved att Wallstoune, upon the first of June, 1601, by himself and Dame Maria Stewart, his lady, Gilbert Lord Somervill, and Dame Margaret Somervill, his lady, James Somervill, elder of Cambusnethen, and John Somervill, younger of Cambusnethen, the witnesses being William Cleilland of that ilk, James Somervill, younger

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of Humbie, William Somerville of Blackpoole, Robert Somervill of Overcallo, and James Buchan, servitor to the Earle of Marre. But now being by his ladyes instigatione mainly induced not to proceed in the marriage with the Lord Somervill, he resolves upon a course to frustrat the designe of the minute in one part, and perfect it in the other. In order to this project, he particularly informes himself of these that wer most intimate with Lord Gilbert, and by whom he was advysed in his affaires; and finding them to be Thomas Weir of Kirktonne, James Carmichaell of Park, Robert Somervill of Overcallo, Hugh Somervill elder, in Carnwath Mylne, and William Somervill of Blackpoole; with these he dealles severally in the moneth of October, and promises largely to each of them if they would be instrumentall to perswad the Lord Somervill to passe from the minute in soe farre as concerned the marriage, pretending, that his sone James was adverse not only to the marriage, but all others, untill he went abroad to his travelles, therefore, that seing the marriage which he honestly and really intended, was lyke to take noe effect, at least for a considerable tyme, and that the Lord Somervill of necessitie must sell all or farre greatest part of his estate, that they would

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advyse and be instrumentall to perswad Lord Gilbert to make over the same to him for the soume agreed upon in the minute, for which kyndenesse and service done to him they should not only be liberally rewarded at the tyme, but have his constant favour for the future. What influence this solicitatione and promises of the Earle of Marres had upon these gentlemen, the eftir effectes manifested; for all of them wer instrumentall to the ruine of the house of Cowthally, James Carmichaell of Park[1] only excepted, who very generously and freely told the Earle of Marre, ther was noe necessitie lying upon the Lord Somervill to sell his estate, seing the burdenes theron wer not soe great, but a few years might redeem the same, if the revenues therof wer rightly improven to the best advantage, and accordingly mannadged; and as the caice stood with that familie, he knew non in the natione that would refuise that which at present was in his lordship's offer and power, by the assented to and subscryved minute. Therefore he humblie begged that his lordship might goe on

[1] Sir James Carmichael of Hyndford and Park was high in favour of James VI. and created Lord Carmichael by his successor in 1651. He is ancestor of the Earls of Hyndford.

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and perfect the true intents of that minute, which tended soe much to the honour and increase of his familie.

This being the least part of the earles mind, it may be easily conceaved how he relished this advyce as eftirward, when by the meanes of these gentlemen he had accomplished his purpose, it did sufficiently appear by his being still ane enemie to this gentleman soe long as he lived, notwithstanding it pleased God to preserve and promote this gentleman's posteritie and familie to great honour, and exceedingly to prosper the same in all the branches therof, as is obvious to all men at this day. The Earle of Marre knowing by Parkes answear what he was to expect from him, hes his next recourse to Thomas Weir of Kirktoune, a gentleman, in the judgement of all men, most knowing, and for ordinary sought eftir and imployed in setleing differences betwext parties in the countrey. Him, with Robert Somervill of Overcallo, who was deeply engadged in cautionrie, as most of the house of Cambusnethen wer for the Lord Somervill, did the Earle of Marre gaine to act in his behalf. It being now drawing neer the terme of Mertimes, at which the Earle of Marre was obleidged by the minute to advance twentieth thousand punds

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Scots, for paying of Lord Gilbert's debtes, these foxes advysed the Earle of Marre before the terme, to transact with the creditores, and establish what reall right was in ther persones upon the estate of Cowthally in his oune persone; and for these creditores that had non but personall obligationes, to take assignatione to ther bands. This the Lord Somervill did not withstand, as beleiveing what the Earle of Marre did was to his behoove, in perfecting that part of the minute wherunto he was obleidged. This affair went smoothly on untill Martinmass, at which tyme the Earle of Marre comeing to speak with the Laird of Lie, in order to a transaction with him for the right of apprysing for ten thousand merkes which he had against the barronie of Carnwath, and other the Lord Somervilles lands; but the Laird of Lie being a knowing and dareing gentleman, absolutely refuses, haveing about that tyme ane other project and designe in his head, which, if it had taken effect, would certanely have contributed much to the honour and greatnes of the house of Cowthally, and happynes of the wholl name in generall. But former unhappy differences and feedes betwext the families marred Lies good intentione, the first ryse and occasione of these quarrelles being because

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of the Lord Somervilles haveing the teynds of Lanerk parish, and consequently these of the barronie of Lie, the frequent drawing of which occasioned much animositie and some blood betwext the families, which continued still, untill that of Cowthally was quyte extinct in the persone of Lord Gilbert.

Notwithstanding of all which and Marre's greatnes, Lie understanding the sinister wayes that wer takeing to ruine ane ancient familie, he noblie undertakes and really designes the preservatione therof, by causeing the Laird of Cleghorne, a principall gentleman of his oune sirname, and of great antiquitie in Cliddisdale, and withall a grandchilde of the house of Cambusnethen, and soe nearly related to the house of Cowthally itself, to proffer his eldest sone Sir James Lockhart, younger of Lie, in marriage to Mistres Maria Somervill, eldest daughter to Lord Gilbert, on whom, if the Lord Somervill should be pleased to conferre his estate and bestow her that way, he offered not only to releive the wholl burdenes that was theron, but also that his son should take on the name and armes of Somervill; and farther, that the second sone of that marriage, if God blessed them with any, retaineing the name and armes of Lockhart, should

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succeed to the barronie of Lie, as heir to him. These generous offeres comeing from a worthie gentleman of knoune abilitie to performe all that was promised, might have prevailed with any of common reasone to accept of and close with soe advantageous a bargane, especially seing both the termes and persones wer soe honourable, that the Lord Somervilles in ther greatest hight, and the house of Cowthally in ther most flourishing conditione, should not have refuised the same, farre lesse now in ther declyneing estate should either unchristian feedes or foolish pride made them neglect ther oune preservatione, by rejecting the Laird of Lies allyae. It was supposed that Thomas Weir of Kirktoune,[1] Lies oune brother-in-law, was both the traytor that betrayed, and the persone that obstructed the goeing on of this marriage; for being first engadged by oath and promise to the Earle of Marre, and then brybbed by a band of four thousand merkes, he not only discovered and made knoune to the Earle of Marre what the Laird of Lie was about in order to the marriage, and the conditiones by him offered to the

[1] Sir James Lockhart married to his second wife, Isabel, daughter of James Weir of Stonebyres.

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Lord Somervill, upon his consenting to the match, but also he professed himself soe much a freind to the familie of Cowthally, that he perswaded Lord Gilbert ther was much hazard in entering into a contract with the house of Lie, seing it was knoune that gentleman and most of his name, since the declyneing of the Lord Somervill and his house, had been ane enemie to him and his wholl relationes; and farther, he insinuate and made this short-sighted lord to beleive that it was not soe much the good and well-being of the house of Cowthally, as the honour and greatnesse of his oune familie, by seeking to match with the heires of Somervill, that made the Laird of Lie condescend to such conditiones; for it was nottour to the wholl countrey, Lie entered into noe transactiones but to his great advantage, and for ordinary to the ruine of such as should contend with him, if any difference did aryse, being both knowing and expert in the lawes, haveing money to bestow, and indefatigable in paines, omitting noe opportunitie that might advance his cause, weary out his antagonists, and either bring them to ane disadvantageous agreement, or, by prolonging the suit, quyte ruine them in the end.

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These wer the reasones, and these the feares wherwith this subtill and deceitfull man possessed the weak head of this inconsiderate nobleman, which meeting with the rememberances of former discourtesies done by the house of Lie to him, and the hectoring rhodomontades of such of his consortes as he mentained to keep up the quarrelles (against the house of Lie) who promised wonders, both by ther counsell and assistance, and yet brought furth nothing but a ridicolous mouse, in confyneing this lord to a cottage and a few aikers of land, albeit it be true eftir the sale of his estate he had a considerable stock of money as to these tymes, and left the same to his three daughters. But to proceed. These reasones, by this man's perswasione, the Lord Somervill refused to match with the house of Lie, and inclyned rather to have the minutes extended in all poyntes with the Earle of Marre. To that effect he writes to the earle and his lady, pressing earnestlie, that seing the tyme was elapsed wherin they stood obleidged by the minute to releave his estate of all debtes that might affect the same, conforme to the subscryed inventar betwext them, that therefore his lordship would be pleased seriously to mynde the

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thing, that he might not be prejudged by his creditors by entering in a contract with his lordship, most of whom wer much dissatisfied with him for soe doing, and particularly the Laird of Lie, to whom he was most engadged, and from whom he was to expect neither favour nor forbearance. This was the substance of the letter sent by the Lord Somervill to the Earle of Marre and his lady, as appeares by the answear returned by Marre, the principall wherof being by me is as followes:

"My lord, I receaved yours the twentieth of this instant, being much satisfied to hear of your oune and ladye's firmenesse and constancie to what was agreed to both by the minute and our commoning, wherunto I am willing to adhere in all poyntes, so farre as I am concerned at present; and for what is to be done efterward my fatherly authoritie shall be extended to the outmost for the satisfactione of all persones interessed in the minute. What I have done in order to the twentieth thousand punds, your lordship partly knowes, and shall more fully understand att meeting. I am not ignorant of the endeavoures of some that laboures to disswade you from goeing on in concludeing our bargane, presumeing much upon ther oune fair offeres, and the

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jealousies they will raise in you of the integritie of our intentiones; but as these men may have cause hereftir to repent when they smart for ther medleinges, soe shall your lordship find me willing to conclude that bargane, that all mistakes may be removed, for the speedie effecting wherof my resolutione was to have Christenmist with your lordship att Cowthally; but his majestie has commanded my stay att court this yuill vaccance: but seing my affaires calls me to Alloway, about the later end of January, I must intreat that your lordship would be pleased to honour me with a visite, and forgett not to bring with you your good freinds, where I doubt not all our affaires shall be amicably composed. Your lordship's very trustie freind and humble servant. *Sic subscribitur Marre*, date the 22d of December, 1601."

1602. This letter was naked enough, and to any but such as willfully blindfolded themselves, might have sufficiently manifested the outmost of Marre's intentione and resolutione as to the marriage, which indeed was the principall thing designed by the Lord Somervill, and that which made him at first enter in commoning, and eftirward conclude that unhappy minute that gave the occasione to his oune disgrace, and the ruine

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of his familie. January, 1602, being come, Lord Gilbert resolves to goe for Alloway, as weill to satisfie the Earle of Marre's desyne, as to know the outmost of his mynde concerneing ane finall close to all the particulars betwext them; therfore he settes furth the later end of this moneth, with his trusties Kirktoune and Overcallo, and severall others his bon companiones, where, according to the appoyntment, he comes to Alloway. The Earle of Marre and his lady, with severall others of his oune and his ladye's relations that wer come from Edinburgh with them to make merry att his house of Alloway, meetes the Lord Somervill and his retinue, and gives him the complement of wellcome att the gate. Dureing his abode, it is not to be doubted but he was treated according to his qualitie, and the greatnes of the persones to whom he was guest, the earle and his lady both makeing many protestationes of the sinceritie of ther intentiones, and how willing they wer to performe all poyntes of the minute as to what concerned themselves; but for ther sone and most of his relationes on the mother syde, albeit they had earnestly dealt with them, yet nether ther sone nor they could be brought to condescend to the marriage, untill he had perfected his studies and travelles

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abroad, wheron he was soe bent that no perswasiones of thers could prevaill with him to the contrary; the caice being such, they hoped his lordship nor non of his freinds could impute it any breach of the minute upon ther part, seing it was not in ther power to force the inclinatione of ther sone.

With this specious pretext, (which was but meer jugling, for ther sone, within some few monethes therefter, was marryed upon the hares of Buchan, and had the earledome therof for her tocher,[1]) and ther great intertainement, the Earle of Marre and his lady, with the helpe of a treacherous couple, Kirktoune and Overcallo, they brought Lord Gilbert to give up the principall minute to be destroyed, and to enter in ane

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[1] James Erskine, second son of John, seventh Earl of Mar by his second marriage with Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of Esme, Duke of Lennox, married Mary Douglas, only child of James Douglas, Earl of Buchan, and Countess of Buchan, in her own right. She resigned the earldom of Buchan in favour of her husband and herself and their heirs, whom failing, to the heirs male of her husband. In virtue of this settlement, which was confirmed by a charter under the great seal, 25th November, 1625, the estate and honours devolved upon David Lord Cardross, descendant and representative of the third son of John Earl of Mar, by the extinction of the heirs of the marriage between James Erskine and the Countess Mary in 1695.

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other, wherin, without any consideratione of the marriage, and many other clauses conceaved in the Lord Somerville's favoures, particularly that of the redemptione; but in this Lord Gilbert was obleidged, betwext and the twentieth of February ensueing, to dispone his wholl estate irredeemably to the Earle of Marre, his heirs and assignayes whatsomever, for the soume of fourtieth and sex thousand sex hundered and sextieth and sex punds thretteinth shilling sex pennies Scots money, noe contemptable soume at that tyme,[1] considering this natione was not much acquainted with the lyke before King James his comeing to the croune of England, when money became more ryfe, and land was sold ordinarly at a higher rate then formerly; however, even then this soume was farre short of the true value of that great barronie, and the many superiorities and other priviledges belonging therto, with the teynds, personage, and vic-

[1] From this, as well as the former passages, it is plain that a fair sale of the Somerville estate was substituted for the proposed match with the son of the Earl of Mar. There appears therefore no other reason for the virulence with which the author expresses himself, than his natural regret that Lord Somerville should have disposed of the family estate, which would otherwise have passed to his ancestor.

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carage of three or four parishes, the eight pund land of Inglish-Berry-Grainge, holding of the commendator of Dryburgh, with four oxengate of land holding of the parsone of Libbertoune, and a ten shilling land of Strafrank. These, with severall other lands, was contained in the minute which eftirward was extended att Edinburgh the thretteinth day of February, 1602. The disponers being Gilbert Lord Somervill and Robert Somervill of Overcallo, by which it appeares he hes been infeft for the releiff of his cautionrie. The consenters to the minute or dispositione att Edinburgh wer, Dame Margaret Somervill, spouse to Lord Gilbert, Dame Helenor Seatoune, relict of umquhile Hugh Lord Somervill, Sir William Seatoune of Kyllesef Muir, in whose persone stood the right of life-rent belonging to the said Dame Helenor Seatoune. The witnesses in this dispositione are, John Livingstoune of Dinniepaice, Gilbert Cuninghame, minister of the colledge-church of Dumbartoune, Master John Sharpe, John Nicollsone, William Oliphant, and Robert Leirmonth. The Earle of Marre, unwilling to lose tyme, or doe his bussines by halfes, the very second day eftir the subscryveing, takes infeftment, conforme to the procuratory of resignatione, Sir William Seatoune of

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Kylleset Muir, the names of the witnesses upon the infeftment giveing to the Earle of Marre wer, John Livingstoune of Dinnipaice, John Murray of John Areskine of Litle Sachla, Master Robert Bannantyne, minister att Carnwath, Master Thomas Weir, John Cheislie, fewar in Carnwath, and Hugh Elder, in Carnwath-myllne, with severall others contained in the instrument of seasing, needles here to expresse, which were all, or most part of them, sorrowfull witnesses to the last acts of this tragedie, wherby [was dispossessed] a noble and ancient familie, eftir four hundered and fyftie years habitatione in Scotland, reckoning from the reigne of Milcolumbus the Fourth, sirnamed the Maiden, and acknowledgeing Sir Walter and Sir David, his sones, to be of the name of Somervilles, is upon good ground supposed by many, and warrantably asserted by myself, from wryttes and evidences that I have seen belonging to other families, and these in my oune custodie. It's true, that the proprietares of the village and lands of Newbigging wer of the same name, the name of Somervill comeing to them by marriage before they wer included within the barronie of Carnwath, which was but erected into one itself by King Robert the Bruce in *anno*

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1317, for the good services done to him by John, the fourth of that name, the fyfth Barrone of Lintoune, who, by marrying one of the coheirs of Sir James Douglas of Loudenhill, to whom the lands of Carnwath did at that tyme belong, and this was about the year 1300: Soe that the continuance of the lands and barronie of Carnwath was somewhat more then three hundered years with the name of Somervill, a sufficient tract of tyme to have ranked the house of Cowthally amongst the first and principall families of the countrey wherin it lay, especially seing much about this tyme, and some few years thereftir, ther happened many alterationes in the cheiff families, not only in Cliddesdale, but through the wholl natione, because of foirfaultures by King Robert the Bruce, and King David his sone. These princes did quyte ruine, and in a manner extinguish the memories of all these families that syded with the Ballioles, father and sone, conferreing ther dignities and estates upon such as adhered to them, whereby the noblest and most eminent families att this day in Scotland own ther ryse, if not ther first appearance in being remarkeable and knoune to the future generationes; and it cannot be denyed, but acknowledged with all thankfullnesse, whatever titles of honour or lands the name of Somervill

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enjoyed before in Scotland, they wer much incressed by the liberalitie of the first of these kings to John, Barrone of Lintoune, the first of Carnwath by my calculatione, on whom this victorious king was graciously pleased to conferre many favoures, because this worthie gentleman appeared amongst the first of the barrones that joyned with him upon his comeing to Scotland to clame the croune his undoubted right; from which tyme, and dureing the severall reignes of the succeeding kings, the house of Cowthally incressed both in honour and estate, untill unhappily it fell into the hands of this unfortunat nobleman, who was not borne to it, the death of three elder brethren makeing way for him to succeed therto, the which he mannadged neither with prudence nor discration, as may be observed in the conduct of his affaires through the tract of his wholl life; for it is strange to beleive that haveing sold his estate soe farre within the true value, that he should not been master of his money to have disposed therof at his pleasure; but, upon the contrary, I find all the securitie the Earle of Marre gives for it was only this: He obleidges himself, his heirs, and successores for the payment of three score and ten thousand merkes, at these termes, to witt: twentieth thou-

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sand merkes presently, either in money or reteired bonds and securities that had been upon the estate of Cowthally, such as Gilbert Lord Somervill or his heirs might any manner of way be distressed for hereftir.[1]

1618. The particular bonds and reall securities of creditores upon the estate wer condescended upon, which, by the inventar I have, appeares neither to be many nor great, as to have necessitat any man to sell soe opulent a fortune as that of the Lord Somervill. For the fyftieth thousand merkes that remained ther was granted a wodsett upon the lordship of Alloway, which eftirward was to be restricted to the lands of

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[1] After all, it is difficult to discover grounds for the heavy charge of fraud brought against the Earl of Marr. His contract with the Lord Somerville was a fair one, by which he advanced a large sum of money (for the times) to relieve Lord Somerville's necessities and pay his debts, with the purpose of an intermarriage between the families. This alliance is afterwards relinquished voluntarily by Lord Somerville, and the transaction is changed into a sale of his estate for a large price. In modern times it would be impossible to attach a shade of suspicion to such a transaction; but the alienation of an ancient family estate was in the seventeenth century so unusual, as to be considered almost a criminal deed, part of the atrocity of which extended to the purchaser as well as the seller: and the heir-at-law may be pardoned for embracing this opinion in its most extravagant extent.

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Cambusnethen, wherof Dame Hanibell Murray was then liferenter. Robert Somervill the grand tutor his name was made use of in this right, ther being ane back-bond granted be him to Gilbert Lord Somervill and his lady, which back-bond, fyfteinth years thereftir, was assigned by them to Hugh Elder in Carnwath Myllne, and by him transferred to the Earle of Marre, upon what termes I know not, only it appeares ther hes been at that tyme twentieth thousand merkes more of the money lifted, for nyne years eftir Lord Gilbert's death I find only threttieth thousand merkes secured to his lady, children, and grand children,by ane contract of wodsett, upon the fourtieth pund land of Libbertoune, granted be James Earle of Buchan, with consent of his father, John Earle of Marre, in ther favoures. When and how this money was lifted I cannot say; but upon the sale of the estate of Cowthally, Lord Gilbert, with his familie, goes to Cambusnethen, and there for some space resides with his father-in-law. At lenth he purchases a litle house, with some few aikers of land, within the barronie of Cambusnethen, named the Craftlenhead, a noble exchange from a castle to a cottage, from a lordship haveing many vassalles and a numerous tennendrie belonging therto, for

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a pitiefull parcell of ground soe contemptable that non of his predecessores but they allowed more to ther fowller and fisher then it did amount to. It was in this place that Gilbert Lord Somervill lived with his familie for seventeinth or eighteinth years, during which tyme he had the fortune to have a sone borne to him now when his estate was gone. This youth, named James eftir his great-grand-father, James Lord Somervill, and his grand-father upon the mother syde, then alyve, lived untill the twelth or therteinth year of his age, and then dyed upon the occasione, as I was crediblie informed by two gentlemen that was both eye witnesses and ear witnesses to that which they supposed procured the sicknesse wherof this young nobleman dyed, which was this: Being sent by his father to schooll att Carnwath, where for the tyme ther was a good grammar schooll, these that accompanyed and waitted upon James Master of Somervill was pleased to regrate that one in whom ther appeared soe many eminent vertues should have been depryved * * * *

[*There is here an imperfection in the manuscript, half of a leaf being torn out. But other documents enable us to fix the dates necessary to con-*

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clude the history of Gilbert Lord Somervill, the last of the noble house who possessed the hereditary estate of Cowthally.

James, his only son, having died in his nonage, Lord Gilbert himself died in 1618, without male issue. He left three daughters, who were honourably married. 1. Mary, who, as has been already mentioned, was matched first to James Lord Torphichen, by whom she had no issue, and secondly to William Douglas of Pumpherston, by whom she had a son, Sir Joseph Douglas, unfortunately drowned. 2. Margaret, married Colquhoun of Balvie, brother to the Laird of Luss. 3. Jane, married Stuart of Minto. Neither of these two ladies left issue.]

Of James, fourth Baron of Cambusnethen, called Velvet Eye.

Having discoursed allready of James the fourth Barrone of Cambusnethen, nicknamed the Laird with the Velvet Eye, in the Memories of Hugh and Gilbert Lord Somervilles, yet seing he outlived the later of those, who was his own sone-in-law, some few years, I shall resume what hes

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been spoken of this gentleman, as ane introduction to what shall be said of his two successores.

Velvet Eye, the fourth Barron of Cambusnethen, whose godfather being King James the Fyfth, was eldest sone and heir to John with the Plaides and Katharine Carmichaell, the captaine of Crawfuird's daughter. This worthy gentleman was much crossed and borne doune in his youth by a severe and rigourous step-mother, Katharine Murray, daughter to the Laird of Philliphaugh, who really designed to have had this gentleman disinherited, that soe her eldest sone might have succeeded to the estate of Cambusnethen; but he happily disappoynted her, by marrying Margaret Hamiltone, daughter and only child to Archibald Hamiltone of Raploch, with whom in right he should have had the estate of Raploch, but the moyan of the Hamiltones carryed it to the brother and house of Stenhouse.[1] With this lady Velvet Eye, both before and long after his father's death, he lived very happily, mannadgeing all his affairs with a

[1] According to strict feudal ideas, the heir male was preferred to a fief as frequently as possible; and in a great and powerful clan, like that of Hamilton, these maxims were inforced rigorously, for the purpose of maintaining the power and wealth of the sept.

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great deall of prudence and discration, that, notwithstanding that he found his estate under great burdens when he came to it, by the provisiones of a second ladye's children, yet releived he the same, and added to the proppertie thereof Murraye's ffi Newtoune, Berry-hill, Hether-hill, and severall other lands both in the over and nether waird; and for his successione, and for what I can learne, he had an only sone, John, nicknamed Harie Hot Spurres by King James the Sexth, who being att Hamiltoune ffor his recreatione, went a hunting, young Cambusnethen being in his company, and weill-horsed, was still up with the doges, the king inquireing what he was, and being informed, "Noe," sayes his majesty, "more fitly this gentleman's name should be Harie Hot Spurres." Eftir this expressione of the king's, this young gentleman retained that nick-name untill his death, soe that many mistooke his true christian name, supposeing that it had been Harie. Velvet Eye had also a naturall sone named James, of whom I can give noe account. For his daughters they were two, Margaret, the eldest, marryed to Gilbert Lord Somervill. The second, named Mary, was marryed upon James Cleilland, of that ilk, of ane ancient house and familie as is in Cleddesdale; and for this gentleman, old Cambusnethen, he was more

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fortunate in haveing children then in being very happy by them; for living to a great age, he found his only sone unfitt to be trusted with the ffie of his estate, and that not soe much through weakeness and want of judgement, as being of a hastie and quarrellsome dispositione; he feared by some unluckie accident he might occasione the same to be forfaulted; therefore he continued him a life-renter during his life, and infeft his eldest sone John, his oune grand-chylde, in the fie of the whole estate. This gentleman, being at the tyme at man's estate, was designed being knighted Sir John of Carsewall, a parsell of land within the barronie of Carnwath, which then and of old belongs to the house of Cambusnethen. This youth was the only hope of that familie, as being eminent for vertue and pietie, noble and generous in all his undertakings, truely obleidgeing to his relations and acquaintances, in whose memories he is yet fresh. He was marryed upon the relict of the Laird of Minto Stewart, a daughter of Silvertoune-hilles, with whom he lived but some few years, and then dyed in August, 1640, leaveing only a daughter at this present, Lady Kincade. His brother James, eftirward knighted, succeeded to him in the estate of Cambusnethen. But this was not the onlie

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misfortune that old Velvet Eye had been trysted with during his long life. Eighteinth years proceeding he saw his cheiff and sone-in-law dilapidate his wholl estate, and brought to live and dye neer himself, without any male successiours. For his other sone-in-law, the Laird of Cleilland, albeit he had been at much paines and expenses to keep up that house, yet at his death it was but in a staggering conditione. These, and the sorrowfull prospect he had of ane unwyse and unprovident gentleman, his grandchylde, that was to succeed and represent him and his worthie familie, brought his grey haires with sorrow to the grave. He dyed in the month of September, 1623, and lyes buryed in the quier of Cambusnethen church, his predecessore's burriall place.

Off John, the Ffyfth Barron of Cambusnethen, nick-named Harie Hott Spurres.

John, the ffyfth Barrone of Cambusnethen, surnamed Harie Hott Spurres, succeeded his father Velvet Eye in the year 1623. This gentleman in his youth lost much of his father's favour, because of many wylde prankes by him com-

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mitted, especially because he was suspected to have associated himself with the Border Riders,* being sometimes for a twelve moneth togither from his father's house, whereof he could not, or at least would not, give ane account how he sustained himself, or where he was. This did irritate his father, especially at that mad trick of his sone's, in beatting of the king's huntsman, and carrying off most of the doges with him, which he retained a considerable tyme, soe that his father was lyke to come to great trouble by it, as himself was declared fugitive and rebell. This, with severall other misdemanoures, did soe incense the father, that when this gentleman begane to understand the world better, and take in himself, yet could he never soe intirely gain his father's favour as to perswade him to put him in the fie of his estate, albeit by an honourable marriage he endeavoured the same, having, with his father's consent, marryed Mary Hamiltone, daughter to Sir James Hamilton of Evandale and Libbertoune.

* This appears to have been a practice among the wild young men at that period, whose love of frolic and adventure was gratified by the constant irregular and predatory warfare carried on upon the Borders.

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Notwithstanding of the intreaty and indeavoures of his friends upon both sydes, could they prevaill farther with the father than to move him to infeft his sone and lady in ane anwell rent of one hundered bolles of victuall, out of the Over and Nether Maynes of Cambusnethen, to be paid to them, ther heirs and assignayes, and the longest liver of the two; this was agreed to by way of contract upon Sir James Hamiltounes paying of three thousand markes, in name of tocher, with his daughter: the contract is dated the first of June, 1597. A year thereftir I find this gentleman interdytes himself to the lord commendatore of Blantyre, Sir James Hamiltoune of Libbertoune, Master John Skeen, clerk register, and to his oune father, and uncle, Robert Somervill of Carsewell, all in the strictest forme that can be drawn; the principall wherof I have by me. It was subscryved att Cambusnethen the nyneteinth day of Apryle, 1598, by which it appeared this gentleman's father and all his relationes had at that tyme noe trust to give him in the conduct of his affaires, untill he attained to the ffourtieth year of his age, the tyme limited in the interdictione. But the truth is, Velvet Eye's living to a great age, and his grand children being all men longe be-

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fore he dyed, he invests the eldest of them, Sir John of Carsewell, in the fie of his whole estate, and continues his sone a lyfe renter during his life, who for the most part lived with his lady and children att Simentoune, a roume within the barronie of Cambusnethen, and belonging thereto. Eftir his father Velvit Eyes death, he dwelt at Cambusnethen place, having the Over and Nether Maynes for his aliment, which, some few years before he dyed, he restricted to the Over Maynes, only quitting the Nether to his second son Sir James, Sir John of Carsewell, the elder brother, being now dead. This gentleman, John Somervill of Cambusnethen, outlived his ffather Velvit Eye but some twelve years, dyeing in *anno* 1635, and was buryed in the quier of the old church of Cambusnethen. He was the last laird, of the name of Somervill, buryed in that place; ffor his children he had three lawfull begotten sones and one daughter, the eldest of his sones being Sir John of Cambusnethen, dyed ffyfteinth years before himself, and left noe male successione. The second being Sir James, succeeded to the estate of Cambusnethen; the third Patrick, who marryed William Cleilland of Cowbell-hilles daughter, who bare to him three sones, himself dyed some few

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years since; ffor his daughter, she was marryed to Matthew Stewart, the Laird of Mintoes brother, a gentleman of great natural parts, but exceedingly wicked in all, *viz.* that he was truely esteemed the very embleme of debaucherie in that age; besydes these children, this gentleman had two naturall sones, designed John Somervill in the Maynes Head, and Glaude Somervill in the Through Gate-head, whom I have seen and conversed with severall years. Having said what I can of this gentleman's memorie, I proceed to his sone and successor, Sir James, the last Laird of Cambusnethen.

Off Sir James Somervill, the sexth Barrone and last Laird of Cambusnethen.

Sir James Somervill, the sexth and last laird of Cambusnethen, entered heir to his eldest brother Sir John Somervill of Carsewell, in the month of October, 1620, his father and grandfather being both alyve, eftir whose death he came to the possessione of the whole estates in *anno* 1635. Some three monthes before his grandfather's death, this gentleman was contracted and maryed att Hamiltoune, the twentieth and eight of

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June, 1623, to Hellen Hamiltone, second daughter to Sir John Hamiltone of Barganie. This being now the fourth tyme that the house of Cambusnethen successively had married with the Hamiltones, viz. with the house of Raploch, Evandale, Gosslingtoune, and Barganie, all of them women of eminent vertue, and the last a most excellent lady and indulgent mother to all her children, but more especially to her youngest sone James, whom she affected most, thereby as it were presageing his fortune for the future. Albeit left very young at her death, and little better than a beggar at his fathers, who, upon the very entry of his estates, gave soe little hope of his mannadgeing the same, that the friends thought it fitt to interdyte him, and accordingly upon the twentieth and sexth of February, 1621, he first interdytes himself for twentieth years to come, to his grandfather and father, Sir James Skein of Currie-hill, William Lord Blantyre, James Diell of that ilk, or any two of them. Being alyve, and as if this had not been enough eftir his marriage, he corroborated the former interdiction to the same persons, adding Sir John Hamilton of Macdallves, clerk-register, and Sir John Hamilton of Barganie.

But seing this gentleman, Sir James Somervill,

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was the last of the house of Cambusnethen, that was proprietor of the barronie therof, it's to understand in what conditione the estate was in when he entered to the possessione therof, and in order to this we must look back to his grandfather Velvit Eye, seing his father Hott Spurres did the estate neither good nor ill; for the grandfather, as is allready hinted at, he found the barronie of Cambusnethen, and the fourthieth pund land within the barronie of Carnwath, under great burden, by the provisiones of the numerous issue of his step-mother, Katharine Murray, notwithstanding of all which, haveing lived long, he not only freed it of these incumbrances, but also acquyred several lands within the barronie of Carnwath and Cambusnethen; all which he left intered to his grandchylde of his, with the burden only of a nake liferent of the Over and Nether Maynes to his only sone, the father of Sir James, his grandchylde and successor, and ten thousand merkes debt which he had contracted for paying the tocheers of his two daughters, the Lady Somervill and the Lady Cleilland. This was all the burden the grandfather left upon the estate, and for his sones, he had noe power to contract any, that which lay heavyest

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upon this estate att Sir James his entering therto, was his sister-in-law, Sir John of Carsewell's relict, her liferent of twelve chalders of victual, and the provisione of ten thousand merkes appoynted for her daughters tocher, being the only childe of that marriage, but soe careful was the grandfather to preserve his estate to his posteritie, that before he married his other grandchylde he transacted with his sones daughter-in-law, Sir John of Carsewelles lady, and gave her eight thousand merkes in compensatione of her joynter. Wherupon she makes a renunciatione in favoures of the grandfather's sone, and grandchylde, of all that she could clame by her contract of marriage. This renunciation is dated at Edinburgh, the twentieth and third day of December, 1620, some few monethes eftir her husband's death, soe that in effect the whole burden being reckoned that was upon the estate of Cambusnethen, it did not exceed twentieth and eight thousand merkes att Velvit Eye's death, for which the creditores being Dame Maria Hamiltone, relict of Sir John Somervill of Carsewell, for eight thousand merkes, her daughter for ten thousand merkes, and Broomhill for fyve. These had reall securities upon the estate for ther mo-

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ney, for the other fyve were aughting[1] in pettie somes through the countrey. The whole of this debt, by Velvit Eye's expresse commandement at his death, was appoynted and ordred to be paid eftir this manner, his grand-chylde Sir Jameses tocher being ten thousand markes, he ordered to be given to his great grandchylde, Sir John of Carsewell his daughter-in-law, of her tocher. The wholl woods within the barronie of Cambusnethen being then ready for cutting, the price of them he appointed to pay the thousand pounds sterling that rested to Sir James his lady and the other creditores, and if the price of the woods came short, the great muir on this syde of Auchter watter, belonging to the barronie of Cambusnethen, he ordered to be sett or fewed out as they found then best opportunitie for the paying off that which should remaine.

Doubtlesse, if this methode had been exactlie followed by his grand-chylde Sir James, he should have both preserved his honour and estate, which he quickly sold, to the wonder of all men, by his bad governement; for having taken up his tocher at diverse tymes, and sold

[1] *i. e.* Owing.

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his woods in parselles, the money not comeing in together it could not weill be appropriated to the end for which it had been designed, and being once in his hands, in a manner it perrished, that which mainly gave occasione therto, and whereby sometyme he used to excuse himself, was his building two houses at several places to reside in, his ffather John upon his grandffathers death having made Cambusnethen place his constant dwelling. It cannot be denyed but these houses, albeit they were mean considering both the ffortune and qualitie of the persones that was to reside in them, would stand him money, but much short of the third of these soumes he intrometted with and receaved, besydes his yearlie rent being at that tyme neer ffyfteinth thousand merkes in the Over and Neither Wairds, all which he spent without paying a farthing of the foirnamed sources, principal or interest, untill he begane to make sale of his estate. Whether he began with his lands in Carnwath barronie, or that of Cambusnethen, I am not certaine, but to the best of my information, the first lands he sold was the lands of Greenhead to Bartholomew Robertoune of Ernockowe; the next was the lands of Murrayes, with the house built by himself, Heatherhill, Bearhill, ffor Newtoune,

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and the Muirhedge, all of them within the barronie of Cambusnethen, to his brother-in-law Mathew Stewart, those lands were disponed the tenth day of December, 1628, to which he procured the consent of these gentlemen he was interdicted to. But that which afterward gave way to his outher undoeing, was the louseing of that interdictione, which he procured from them all by ane ample renunciatione, dischargeing and upgiveing of the said interdictione, subscryved by them att Edinburgh upon the ffyfteinth day of January, 1631.

Being freed of this incumberance as a yock 1643.
that galled him sore, or rather shakelles, wherewith he conceaved himself soe fettered as he could not runne soe fast as he designed, and afterwards did, ffor continueing in his wonted courses, in contracting debts, and never myndeing how or where to pay the same, his burdens dayly increassed, and necessitat him to a new sale of some other part of the estate ffor paying of the most rigorous of his creditores, and indeed it contributed not a little to his undoeing that he sold his estate in soe small parcelles; whereas, if he had at one tyme parted with soe much therof as might have payed his wholl debts, in all humane probabilitie he should have

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preserved a considerable ffortune. But this gentleman following a contrarie method, when upon the sale of any of his lands he payed a part of his debts, ther remained still soe much, that within a short space thereaftir it increased to such a soume as necessitat a new sale, untill all was swallowed up, and not a coat-house nor ane aiker of land unsold by him of all the fair inheretance that once belonged to his predecessores, lying in four severall counties, equall both as to qualities and rent to any one barronie in Scotland; but not being willing to enlarge this discourse, or follow the wholl truth of this unhappie gentlemans proceedings, it is too much to know, that having parted with his wholl interest in the Over Ward to the Laird of Cleghorne and Johne Cheislie, about the year 1643, and much about that tyme with the over toune of Cambusnethen, to Sir John Hamiltone of Billd, Knight, who shortly thereafter sold these lands to Sir James Stewart, who at present possesses the same, with the half of the Nether Maynes, Garrin Mylne, Coltnesse Mylne and Toune, all parts and pendicles of the barronie of Cambusnethen. It was the sale of those lands of the Over Toune that hastened the death of his vertueous lady, as was supposed by most; ffor eftir that sale it was

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observed she ever looked with a sad and melongcholly countenance. However, it was her happynesse in tyme to be removed ffrom that which eftir followed; ffor these lands being sold with the other half of the Nether Maynes, to John Lord Barganie, Gawin Hamiltone of Raploch, and John Hamiltone of Idestoune, ffor the releiff of their cautiounrie, there remained nothing now of that ffair barronie, as to the proppertie, but the Over Maynes and the Nether Toune of Cambusnethen, and a portione of land called the Green, the house whereof was built by himself, and made his constant residence untill the same, with the Nether Toune of Cambusnethen, was sold to Patrick Hamiltone, ballzie of Hamiltoune, in *anno* 1646, whose heirs possessed the same untill this day.

Sir James Somervill, by the sale of all the lands allready mentioned, confyned his estate to the Over Maynes of Cambusnethen, and the superioritie of the wholl barronie, whereof some of them held waird, others ffew, but most of them blench, as he and they could agree, when he made sale to them of his lands within Cambusnethen, barronie of Carnwath, he could not alter ther holding, he himself being vassall to the 1646.

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laird thereof, who about that tyme was the Laird of Dalziell, thereaftir created ffirst Viscount, and then Earl of Carnwath by King Charles the Ffirst of blessed memorie. But Sir James ffinding at last his affaires in a worse conditione then he expected, and being much pressed by his brother-in-law, the Lord Barganie (who, as many supposed, made noe small advantage ffrome this estate, as his profligate brethren, by ther sisters indullgence in supplying ther wantes had furthered the ruine thereof,) ffor the releiff of his cautionrie, soe that this poor gentleman sadly reffiecting upon his oune misgovernement, would faine have lessened the odium that was upon him ffor dilapidating soe fair a fortune, by selling the remainder to some gentleman of his oune name, related to his familie, which at lenth he did to James Somervill of Drum, grand-chylde to Hugh Lord Somervill, and nephew to Lord Gilbert; thus the barronie of Cambusnethen returned to the true representative of the house of Cowthally, eftir ane hundred threescore and eight years, dureing which tyme it had continued in the lyne of Sir John of Quathquan, the first barrone of Cambusnethen, eftir it became a distinct familie from the house of Cowthally. This dispositione

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was granted and subscryved by Sir James Somervill, with consent of his eldest sone John and the Lord Barganie, att Edinburgh the sexteinth day of June, 1647.

Some few years proceeding this, Sir James being a widow, had marryed the Lady Aderstoune, of the sirname of Scott,[1] who bore only a sone to him, that dyed a few years before himself; eftir the sale of the barronie of Cambusnethen to Drum, he lived att Edinburgh with his lady untill his death, which happened in *anno* 1659, being then neer the sextieth and third year of his age; he was buryed in the Gray Friars churchyard, with small regrate of his name and relationes, as he had lived with litle respect eftir the sale of his lands. Ffor his succcssione he left two sones and seven daughters of the first marriage; his eldest sone John long before his death had marryed Master William Aurthur, minister of the West Church of Edinburgh, his daughter, and with her left noe male successione; his second sone James haveing marryed creditablie, hes at present ffoure sones, being in prosperous conditione, is lyke, if God spare his days, to lay 1647. 1659.

[1] Adderston upon Trent, near Hawick.

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the ffoundation of some other house, or recover a considerable part of his predecessores inheretance, if it be to sell, he being now the only representative of that honourable ffamilie. Ffor the daughters, albeit they had not a saxpence from ther ffather, except the eldest ane inconsiderable soume, haveing nothing degenerated ffrom the vertue of the daugters of that house, wher all creditable marryed, save one named Mary, that dyed a maid. Haveing finished this relatione of the house of Cambusnethen, I proceed to give ane account of that of the Drum, ffor two successiones from the death of Hugh Lord Somervill.

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OF THE

FAMILY OF DRUM,

FROM 1600 TO 1677.

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Off the Familie of Drum, ffrom the Year 1600 *to the Year* 1677 *; and first of Hugh Somervill of Drum, in the same Degree with his Brother Lord Gilbert, the nyneteinth ffrom Sir Gualter de Somervill, Lord of Whichenour in England.*

The active part of this gentlemans life hes been allready spocken to in the memories of his ffather Hugh Lord Somervill, and his brother Lord Gilbert. However, wee shall resume somewhat of that which has been allready written, and for what remains rather gives his character then memorie. Seeing nothing occurred wherein he was concerned as to the publict, the kingdome of Scotland haveing a profound peace ffrom the year 1590, and all the rest of King James the Sexth his reign, and the first threenteinth years of King Charles, untill the year 1640, which was the year wherein this gentleman dyed, off whom wee are now to give ane accompt.

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Hugh Somervill of Drum was youngest sone to Hugh Lord Somervill, and Dame Helenour Seatoune, the death of nyne elder brethren brought him to the estate of Drum, Gillmertoune, and Gutters, as the want of heir male in his elder brother, Lord Gilbert, should have given him the lordship of Somervill, if that unfortunate nobleman had not sold the same to the prejudice of this gentleman and his successores, who were never in a condition to recover that estate, albeit the same hes been since, albeit at present to be sold by the Earl of Carnwath, who cannot keep it in regaird of his great burdens, and certainly it is lyke to be a burdensome stone be the purchaser who will, seing ther was great ffraud and most unconscionable dealling in him, that first acquired it from the Lord Somervill, but viewing this as unwilling to raike up the ashes of the dead to blacken the reputatione of soe noble and illustrious a persone, soe highly favoured, hounered, and loved by his prince, during the terme of his whole life, that ther was noe one familie in Scotland he had a designe upon or prejudice att could stand against him, how potent or powerfull soever they were in estate or birth, but they smarted by the great in-

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terest this nobleman had in his prince; but I return.

When this gentleman was ffyfteinth years of age, being a handsome youth, at the intreatie of Seatoune and Somervill, his uncle and ffather, he was receaved in his majesties service in the qualitie of one of the pages of the bed-chamber, they being four in number, to witt, John Ramsay, eftirward Earle of Huldernesse, and Erskine, eftirwards Earle of Kellie,[1] Mauld, Laird of Panmuir, now earl thereof, the fourth was Hugh So-

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[1] These two pages were in attendance upon King James on the day of the celebrated conspiracy of Gowrie, and were favoured by him on account of the assistance which they rendered on that extraordinary occasion. To this incident, rather than the mere circumstance of attending him into England, they owed their advancement to the peerage. Welldon mentions a singular mark of James's favour to Sir John Ramsay, afterwards Earl of Holderness, who first came to his assistance while struggling with Ruthven:—

"There was a weekly commemoration, by the Tuesday sermon, and an anniversary feast, as great as it was possible, for the king's preservation, ever on the fifth of August; upon which day, as Sir John Ramsay, after Earl of Holderness, for his good services in that preservation, was the principal guest, so did the king grant him any boon he would aske that day; but had such limitations set to his asking, as made his suit unprofitable unto him, as that he asked it for was unserviceable to the king."—*Secret History of the Court of King James the First, vol. I. p. 320.*

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mervill, sone to the Lord Somervill; these three before-mentioned gentlemen continueing in ther service, and going into England with King James the Sexth, in *anno* 1603, wer both greatly enriched and highly honoured by his majestie, being in time all of them gentlemen of the bed-chamber. But for this gentleman, Hugh Somervill, it was his misfortune to remaine only some few years with the king eftir he was admitted in the service; whether this proceeded from his oune untractablenesse and quarrellsome humor, (ffor he was that unrullie, both hauttie and hastie,) or his ffathers ffondness, who could not dispence with his sones absence, I cannot say; but the first tyme the king took notice his none attendance was when his majestie journyed to the north, where, being by the toune of Dundie propyned with a purse of gold at his entry, the king having receaved the same ffrom the magistrates, looking back called for Somervill, supposing him to be in his retinue, to have given him that tocher of the towne of Dundies; but being informed that he was not there, but had gone back ffrom Saint Johnstone, the king in great passione swore, that ladies ffather will never let him do weill, and indeed by that omissione, and his not continueing in the kings service, untill the crown of England

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ffell into his majestie by the death of Queen Elizabeth, when goeing to reside in England, all the servants that waitted upon him exceedingly enriched themselves in a very short tyme, and certainly this inconsiderate youth then lost much more then what he had from his ffather, being only his lands within Mid-Lothian.

However was in the ffault, ffather or sone, I shall not positively determine; but this I suppose was the maine occasione that moved this gentleman to neglect or slight soe fair ane opportunity of getting preferrement by the court, was the unluckie prospect and big hope he had of the Lord of Somervill.

Eftir the death of his eldest brother William, Master of Somervill, his oune ffather Lord Hugh not only possessing him with those hopes, but really dooing all that in him lay to make that project and designe effectual, which is evident ffrom what has been allready said in the memories of his ffather and brother Lord Gilbert, superfluous again to repeat.

Being now returned from court, some few monthes aftir the master's death he setled himself with his ffather in the countrey, and there did his private affairs, being also his constant at-

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tender, an onwaiter in all the journeys he made to the court, cittie, or countrey, how much by this attendance he gained his ffather's affectione is evident from the rights yet extant, granted only in his favoures, whereby his ffather endeavoured to have disinherited Gilbert, then Master of Somervill, and estebleshed not only the estate but the very title of honour upon this his youngest sone; but Gilbert was soe firmely buckled by the right of that contract formerly made betwext his father and his eldest brother William Master of Somervill, that ther was noe possibilitie in law to debarre Gilbert from succeeding eftir his ffather's death to the lordship of Somervill; therefore, aftir the submissione and that unhappie decreit arbitrall, all hopes of Hughes prevailling being in a manner blasted, the ffather haveing the lands of Drum, Gillmertoune, and Gutters, still at his disposing, he setled the same upon this gentleman, his youngest sone, by a dispositione by way of contract, which is dated at Grantoune, the twentieth and nynth of Apryle, 1593, by which right and conveyance he brooked and possessed these lands eftir his marriage with Margaret Hamiltone, second daughter to Gavin Hamiltone of Raploch, in *anno* 1595, with whom he lived in the castle of Cowthally, his

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ffather's principall residence until Lord Hughes death, and sometyme thereftir that the same by the king's expresse command and orders it was given up by his lady and the Hamiltones to Gilbert, then Lord of Somervill, who haveing now gotten possessione of his house, as a few monthes before he had entered to the possessione of the estate of Carnwath at his ffathers death; this gentleman, his only brother, setled his residence att his oune house of Drum, where he lived ffourtieth and two years, respected by all his nighboures, Sir David Crichtoune of Lugtoune only excepted, with whome he had many debeates concerning the marches in the toune of Gillmertoune, and the lands belonging thereto; the whole thereof as to Gillmertoune being rune rig[1] betwixt them, which might administer occasione of daylie quarrelles if masters be contentious; and the truth is, ffor thir gentlemen they were both extremely proud, the ffirst of his great estates, being at that tyme neer twentieth thousand merkes of yearly rent, and the last of his birth, being by farre the better descended; having ane old and competent estate to mentain

[1] That is, lying by alternate ridges, a very inconvenient state of property.

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him in the degree of a private gentleman, he was now reduced to by the ffoly and madnesse of his elder brother.

As Lugtounes estate was impareing and diminishing by his and great housekeeping, untill at lenth it was swallowed up, and perrished from him and his, as his memorie at the day is extinct as to the male successione; soe this gentleman his estate improved daylie by the frugalities and thrift of a most vertuous lady, unto whom this gentleman dimitted not only the whole of his domestick and houshold business, but the greatest part of his more publick concernes and affaires, which, by her wisdom and prudence she happilie manadged to his contentment, and the satisfaction of all his friends; and it was weill he condescended to this, ffor being himself nobly borne, and sometyme bred a courtier, and afterward in a manner as to his educatione lost by his ffather's too great love and indullgency, he mynded nothing but sport, hunting, and halking, being his ordinary recreatione in the company of the Lord Dallhoussie, and James Lord Rosse, his oune brother-in-law, both these noblemen being his neer nighboures. And indeed it testified him to

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be much a gentleman, that he would converse with none but these that were either his equalles or of better qualitie than himself, as to the conditione and degree he was then in, being a man of a propper person and gallant aspeck as was to be seen; he keeped allways for his oune use a brace of as good horses, and a cast of halkes, as was in all the countrey, and exercised them as much, untill three years before his death he grew soe infirme that he could not goe nor ride abroad himself, yet he still keeped his horses and halkes. These he fed in his chamber with his oune hands, and for his horse, his groome morning and evening, att wattering-tyme, brought them before the south light of his chamber, (haveing there a spatious green, now converted to a garden and orchyaird,) that he might see them ryde and know ther conditions, soe anxious and carefull was this old gentleman to keep these creatures in a fit state for travell and exercise, albeit he could make noe use of them himself; and to confirme this, there is one circumstance I cannot omitt, although it be of small consequence, yet it evidences sufficiently the humor of this gentleman.

One day he fancyed his halkes was not weill,

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because they had not voided their casting[1] at the ordinary tyme, wherefore he goes to the Drum-hill, and commands his shepherd to take home and kill one of the best weathers he could lay his hand on, and preserve the heart for his halkes. This direction the poor man obeyes, believing that the lady knew of the directione and command he had gotten from her husband, wherefore he bringes home the best sheep that was in all the flock, and kills him, bringing the heart to the laird as he was enjoyned, whereon he breakfasted his halkes.

His lady this morning being gone to Gillmertoune to receave some of the tennents fferme, comes home about eleven a clock. Neer half twelve there arrived her brother the Laird of Pote, with severall other strangers, from Edinburgh, with a resolutione to dine at the Drum;

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[1] *Castings*, in falconry, is the technical term for small feathers, or scraps of flannel, which are given to the hawks in their food, and by their appearance when discharged indicate the bird's state of health. If these are not freely voided, the disease is called the Crevy, for which, among other remedies, Dame Juliana Berners recommends "the hote herte of an hogg or of a pygg;" and the "Gentleman's Recreation" points out other articles of high diet, among which is Mr Somerville's recipe, the heart, namely, of a sheep.

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who upon ther comeing the lady compleaned to her husband that her house was not soe weill provyded in ffresh meat as she could have wished, ffor she ffeared her beeff and muttone was not only ill, but somewhat home tasted; whereupon her husband, appearing as if he had been much incensed, with frowneing and angry countenances sayes to her, "It is weill waired, Margaret; your spareingness and naughtynesse disgraces often both you and me, ffor if there be a crock ewe upon all the hill, that shall be brought in for my table, and the best of the flock reserved ffor the burges wives of Edinburgh; but goe your wayes, my house is not soe ill provyded as you believe, and cause make ready dinner, whill I interteine our guestes with a drink of our best aile, which instantly I desyre may be sent up." This discourse of the houses being provyded, his lady did not understand untill she went to her lardner, and there sees one of the greatest and ffattest ffour-year old weathers hinging, that readily could have been gotten, whereat not a little marvelling ffrom where it might have come, she enquired at her servants, who informed her that that morning the herd had by the laird's directione brought it in and killed it of purpose to get the heart, as hett meat

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ffor his halkes that was not weill. How the lady pleased this may easylie be judged, being for such a weather of that growth and goodness, ffor ordinary in the spring she receaved eight, nyne, yea sometymes ten pund Scots ffor the head of each of them. However, this discreit lady ffor the tyme dispensed with that supposed losse, being it supplyed her present want, and helped much to furnish the table with a plentifull mealle, whereat her husband (upon the gentlemen asserting it was the greattest and ffattest muttone ever they had seen, and they believed at that tyme of the year the markets of Edinburgh could not affoorde the lyke,) made good company by telling his guestes that they had reasone to thank him only ffor ther present good intertainement as to the muttone, "ffor my Dame Margaret lykes money too weill to have soe good on her table; albeit she troubles not the markett, but has it of her oune;" and then relateing to them the occasione that made them ffare so weill, they all heartilie laughed thereat, and with the story of the halke's sickeness made merry dureing dinner.

As he was much a gentleman, and inoffensive when he was himself, soe was he extremely dangerous and not to be advysed when in passione,

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whereunto he was soon put upon the least supposed slight or neglect, which he could not away with without satisffieing himself by a present resentment. This unruely humor created him many troubles, both in his youth and elder years, and brought him twice, before he was ffourtieth years of age, to be pannalled ffor his life, as being art and part in the slaughter of two gentlemen; the one killed att the Corset-hill, named Purdie; the other killed att Gillmertoune, when he himself was but a very young man, and free from any accessione to that guilt, save that he was unfortunately in the company: and yet this affair cost his ffather a great deall of money to get him free. However, soe little command had he over his passiones, that it was the great mercie of God prevented his killing a gentleman in the very church of Saint Geilles before divine service. Upon this occasione, haveing accompanyed his sister-in-law, the Lady Ross, to the church, and seated himself by her, shortly thereafter there comes in a gentleman of good qualitie to the same seat, and pressed with some rudeness to be next the lady, which the other observeing, with the lyke civilitie pulles him doune in the seat, and bides him be content with his

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place. The gentleman offering to resent this by gripping to him, he pulles out his dagger, which was ane ordinarie weapone worne by persones of the greatest qualitie in that age, and was about instantly to have strucken the gentleman, if the Lady Rosse had not quickly gripped him fast in her arms, and intreated the other gentleman either to goe out of the seat, or that he would be pleased to make way for her and her brother to goe out. This desire the gentleman readilie obeyed; but withall, in retireing, he told Drum he would call him to account for soe publick ane affront. The other, as little concerned, smartly replyed, he should find him man for him when he durst make the attempt; and thus they separated, neither did ther any thing follow upon this scuffle that ever I could hear of; ffor the gentleman being informed of his humor and qualitie, fforebore to give the challenge, knowing himself to be the first aggressor, in offering to take the place of a gentleman that was first seated.

His brother, Lord Gilbert, haveing sold his estate in Ffebruary, 1602, he could never eftir that have his name spoken of; neither could the intreatie of his oune friend nor his ladye's pre-

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vaill with him to come to any setlement with him dureing his brother's life; but that he persewed first ffor the reductiones of the decreit arbitrall, and when that would not doe, thereaftir he insisted for the ffullfilling thereof, soe farre as he was concerned, both against Lord Gilbert, whill alyve, and then against his three daughters, as representing him being dead. Nether was this bussinesse agreed untill many years thereftir, that this gentleman, haveing marryed his only sone then alyve, James, upon Lillias Bannantyne, second daughter to Sir James Bannantyne of Newhall, one of the senatores of the colledge of justice, as three of his predecessores had been in that qualitie in a direct lyne before him; by this gentleman's intercessiones and interest att court, John Earl of Marre, and James Earl of Buchan, being then in the possessione of the lordship of Somervill, were brought, or, to say better, wer perswaded to ane agreement much below what was expected, or that in law they might have really recovered, iff they had had the patience to have waitted untill the death of John Earl of Marre, against whom ther was noe pleaing. However, upon this settlement James Earl of Buchan payed doune ffour thousand markes

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to this gentleman, in satisfactione of all that he could seek by virtue of the decreit arbitrall, or any other manner of way crave from the late Gilbert Lord Somervill, his heirs or representatives, upon the recept of this inconsiderate soume, Hugh Somervill of Drum being perswaded and induced thereto by my Lord Newhall, with consent of James Somervill, ffiar thereof, discharged and reunites all rights, titles, and clames standing in ther persones to the Lord Somervill, and that in favoures of the said John Earl of Marre and James Earl of Buchan, ther heirs and asignayes whatsomever. Thus ended that long debate and unhappy contraversy which had been keeped up from the year 1593 to the year 1634, and had first begune betwext Hugh Lord Somervill and Hugh Somervill his youngest sone, against Gilbert Master of Somervill, and soe had still continued betwext the brethren, the heirs of Lord Gilbert, the Earles of Marre and Buchan, untill this present setlement.

1640. This money was weill imployed, for with it he buyes the personage teynd of his lands of Drum and Gillmertoune ffrom the Lord Hollyrudehouse, who was titular to the wholl teynds of Libbertoune parish. This being the last actione

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of any moment done by this gentleman, save the contracting of his only daughter alyve, named Jean Somervill, to James Tennent of Cairne, chieff of his name, to whom he gave ffyve thousand markes of portione, and boorded her and her familie soe long as he lived, which was sex years aftir ther marriage. Three years before his oune death he became soe weak in his legges, (being a very tall man,) that they wer not able to support his bodie, therefore he allwayes in the day tyme satt in a wand-chayre, and in it made his servants transport him to any part of the house he pleased to goe to, or to the ffeildes, when he mynded to have the benefite of the fresh air in seasonable weather. He sickened more than was his ordinary in *anno* 1639, and in June makes his testament, wherein he leaves his lady executor and universall intrometter, with all his goods. However, he dyed not untill the next year, in the month of Apryle, 1640, being of the age of seventieth and two, and was burryed in the church of Libbertoune, in his owne burriall place, being the ffirst of his familie that was burryed in that place; (two of his children excepted;) for albiet his brother John was unfortunately killed att the Drum, yet was his corpes

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transported to the ordinary burriall place in Carnwath yle. This gentleman's lady, Margaret Hamiltone, outlived her husband some ffour years, and incressed both in riches and esteeme with the countrey, haveing in her tyme been mainly instrumentall and helpefull in rebuilding of the place of Drum, when it had been by casuall and accidentall ffyre twice burnend. She sickened in Ffebruary, 1644, and dyed in March thereftir, haveing lost her executores, her two grand-children, to witt, Hugh Somervill, second sone to her sone James, and Margaret Tennant, eldest daughter to the Laird of Cairne. Off four children she had born to her husband, there outlived her only her eldest sone James, and eldest daughter Jean; a sone named Gawin eftir his grandffather Raploch, and a daughter named Margaret eftir herself, dyed before she or her husband departed this life.

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Of James Somervill of Drum, the twentieth from Sir Gualter de Somervill, Lord of Whichenour in England, in the Countie of Staffoordshyre.[1]

This gentleman, whose memorie wee are now to give, being the only heir male and representative of the house of Cowthally in a direct lyne, the twentieth from Sir Gualter de Somervill, the sone allwayes succeeding the ffather or the brother in noe furder degree of consanguinitie, which in effect is all ane, the death of ane elder brother without successione makeing way for another to succeed to him and ther umquhile ffather that last represented the ffamilie. This being the stile and conditione of the house of Drum in the persone of this gentleman, I shall tract him ffrom the cradle to the grave, through all the steppes of his peregrinatione.

James Somervill of Drum was eldest sone to Hugh Somervill of Drum, and grandchylde to Hugh Lord Somervill. His ffather Hugh being contracted in June, 1594, and marryed in Au-

[1] This gentleman, being the father of the author of the Memoirs, his history is of course related at great length.

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gust thereftir, this gentleman, James, was borne ane year and ffyve months eftir ther marriage att Cowthally castle, in the moneth of January, 1596, to the great joy and satisfaction of his grand-ffather, the Lord Somervill, who haveing noe male successione by his elder sone Gilbert, Master of Somervill, whom he never lyked, he was exceeding glad to see and have in his arms a sone of his beloved Benjamine, whom he baptized in Carnwath church some eight days efftir he was borne, and called his name James, efftir his aine ffather, James Lord Somervill. However, James Lord Rosse, his sone's brother-in-law, was complemented as name-ffather to the chylde. He was ane year and three moneths old when his grand-ffather, Lord Hugh, dyed in March, 1597. Being yet still att Cowthally with his lady-mother, untill it was beseiged by Lord Gilbert, his uncle, soe hereby did that infant smell powder in his mother's arms by domestick warre in his oune ffamilie, whereof himself was the only representative, and accordingly should have succeeded if providence had not decreed otherwayes. However, this beginning was a prognostick of that occupation he was to follow ffor neer the ffourth part of his life, albeit he attained to a great age.

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The house of Cowthally being given up by his mother to his uncle Lord Gilbert, he was transported to the Raploch house, his grandffather's by the mother. This gentleman Raploch having concurred with his other grandffather, Hugh Lord Somervill, while alyve had moved the chyldes ffather Hugh to infeft and seaze him. In all these barronies and lands he stood seazed in himself by rights ffolowing, from his ffather Hugh Lord Somervill; this he did condescend to by granting two ample charters, written and subscryved att Edinburgh, the twentieth and fourth day of May, 1596, which I conceave not amisse to transcrybe in the memorie of this gentleman, that the vanitie and uncertaintie of great expectationes may the better appear; for behold here is a chylde but ffour monthes old, vested and seazed in two great and ample barronies of land, besyde the land of Drum, Gillmertoune, and Gutters, wherein his ffather was in possessione of a parte only, the grandffather haveing the whole of Carnwath, and the lands belonging therto in life-rent, but noe part of Lintoune barronie ffor many generations preceeding this, notwithstanding that they still contained these lands in the charters of confirma-

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tione granted to them by the Kings of Scotland. But I proceed and give you here the true transcript of that charter granted be Hugh Somervill of Drum to and in favoures of his young sone James.

Omnibus hanc chartam visuris vel audituris Hugo Somervill ffilius secundo genitus Hugonis Domini Somervill.

Terrarum et aliarum subscriptarum cum avisamento Gavini Hamiltone de Raploch cujus instantiam fui interdictus salutem in Domino sempiternam Noveritis me non vi aut metu ductus nec errore lapsus sed mea mera et spontanea voluntate at itaque et mea et meorum successorum consideratio Nec non pro impletione cujusdam partis contractus matrimonialis initæ et confectæ inter me ab una et dictum Gavinum Hamiltonni de Raploch et Margaretam Hamiltone ejus filiam partibus ab altera in quo teneor cum contigerit me et dictam Margaretam ffilium habere tunc intra quadraginta dies post ejus diem nativitatis in omnibus terris meis acquisitis seu acquirendis infeodare ut in dicto contractu dedata apud Raploch vigesimo secundo die mensis Junii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo quarto latius continetur Dedisse Concessisse tituloque puræ venditionis Alienasse et

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hac presenti charta mea confirmasse nec non tenore presentium Dare Concedere tituloque puræ venditionis Alienare et hac presenti charta mea Confirmare Jacobo Somervill meo ffilio et hæredi apparenti heredibus suis de corpore suo legittime procreandis quibuscunque et quibus deficientibus heredibus legittimis et propinquioribus inter me et dictam Margaretam legittime procreatis seu procreandis et quibus etiam forsan deficientibus heredibus meis et assignatis quibuscunque totas et integras Terras Baronias aliaque subscripta, viz. Totam et integram baroniam meam de Carnwath extenden ad ducentas liberatas terrarum antiqui extentus cum castris turribus ffortalitiis hortis pomariis et molendinis de Carnwath Quodquan et West Scheill ac molendino ffallono de Carsewell cum advocatione et donatione ecclesiæ de Libbertoune et cum superioritatibus ea tenentium earundem terrarum molendinorum aliarumque supra scriptarum totas et integras octo libratas terrarum de Inglish Berrie Grange quadraginta solidatas terrarum de Strafranke jacen in vicecomitatu de Lanerk Totam et integram baroniam de Lintoune extenden ad partim libertas terrarum antiqui extentus cum castris turribus ffortalitiis et superioritatibus te-

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nentium advocatione et donatione ecclesiæ earundem jacen in vicecomitatu de Roxburgh Totas et integras te. Gillmertoune et Gutters cum turribus ffortalitiis hortis pomariis carbonibus carbonariis et suis pertenentiis jacen in vicecomitatu de Edinburgh cum earundem singulis annexis connexis partibus pendiculis et suis pertinentiis quibuscunque Tenendas et Habendas totas et integras prædictas terras et baronias de Carnwath et Lintoune ceterasque terras de Ryflat Inglish-Berrie Grange et Strafrank cum molendinis advocationibus donationibus superioritatibus tenentium aliorumque supra scriptarum dicto Jacobo meo ffilio heredibus suis de corpore suo legittime procreandis quibus deficientibus hæredibus quibuscunque inter me et dictam conjugem legittime procreatis seu procreandis quibus forsan deficientibus hæredibus meis et assignatis quibuscunque A me hæredibus meis et successoribus de Supremo Domino nostro Rege et suis successoribus inferendo hæreditarie et liberis baroniis in perpetuum ac dictas terras de Drum Gillmertoune et Gutters cum suis pertinentiis de supremo domino nostro per servitionem wardæ et relevii ut moris est per omnes rectas metas suàs antiquas et divisas prout jacent in longitu-

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dine et latitudine in domibus edificiis hortis planis moris marresiis viis semitis aquis stagnis rivolis pratis pastriis et pasturis molendinis multuris et earum sequelis aucupationibus venationibus piscationibus petariis turbariis carbonibus carbonariis columbis columbariis cuniculis cunicularis brueriis genestis sylvis nemoribus virgultis lignis tignis lapicidiis lapide et calce cum curiis earumdem et earum exitibus bludvitis herezeldis et mulierum. Ac cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus proficuis et justis suis pertinentiis quibuscunque tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam subtus terra quam supra terram procull et prope ad predictas terras barronias molendina et alia supra scripta spectans seu spectare valens quomodo libet in ffuturum reddendo inde cumnatim dictus Jacobus meus ffilius hæredes sui prescripti quibus deficientibus hæredes inter me et dictam Margaretam legittime procreati seu procreandi quibus etiam forsan deficientibus hæredes mei et assignati quibuscunque dicto supremo domino nostro superiori earundem pro dicta baronia de Carnwath molendinis superioritatibus advocationibus donationibus et earundem supra scriptis terra de Inglish-Berrie-Grange Ryflat et Strafrank unam ulnam rubræ lie an ellne of red

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att Midsummer day to be yearlie infra dictam baroniam de Carnwath ut moris est ac pro dicta baronia de Lintoune cum superioritate et advocatione earundem superscriptis una rubro rosa lie ane red rose yearly att Midsummer noon albifirmo si petatur tantum pro omni alio onere exactione questione demanda seu servitio seculari et pro dictis terris de Drum Gillmertoune et Gutters cum pertinentiis suis jura et servitia debita et consueta ac ad tria capitalia curia ut usus est si petatur tantum pro omni alio onere exactione questione demanda seu servitio seculari quæ de ejusdem terris baroniis et aliis supra scriptis requiri possint et Ego vero dictus Hugo Somervill cum consensu predicto hæredes mei et successores totas et integras baronias molendina superioritates tenentium advocationes donationes et alia supra scripta dicto Jacobo meo filio hæredibus suis supra nominatis quibus deficientibus reliquis hæredibus et assignatis supra specificatis in omnibus et pro omnia forma pariter et effectu ut promissum est contra omnes mortales warrantizabimus acquietabimus et in perpetuum defendemus salvo tamen et reservato mihi pro omnibus vitæ meæ diebus totales reditus totarum et integrarum terrarum baroniarum mo-

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lendinorum et aliarum supra scriptarum cum suis pertinentiis ac etiam reservato dictæ meæ conjugi totales reditus totarum et integrarum (terrarum) de Drum Gillmertoune et Gutters cum turribus ffortalitiis carbonibus carbonariis et earundam pertinentiis in quibus perprius per me extitit prout in sasina sibi de eisdem tradita latius continetur et quod quidem infeofamentum ego hæredes mej successores et assignati quibuscunque affirmare tenebimur et etiam reservato dictæ Margaretæ totales reditus summæ centum librarum monetæ hujus regni una cum novem

Dimidium ejusdem
Alterum quidem demidium
De aliqua parte earum

terrarum de Carnwath Lintoune Inglish-Berrie-Grange Ryflatt et Strafrank cum molendinis et aliis

supra scriptis levan ubi dictæ Margaretæ libitum fuerit quod quidem etiam infeofamentum dictæ Margaretæ de terris de Drum Gillmertoune Gutters perprius traditum ego pro me hæredibus meis et successoribus in omnibus suis presentibus articulis et clausis ratifico at cum consensu prædicto approbo et confirmo in perpetuum cum

Salvo etiam mihi plena libertate in mea necessi-

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tate summam mille mercarum super dictis terris de Drum Gillmertoune et Gutters et suis pertinentiis ac aliqua earum parte capere ac dictas terras et alia supra dicta pro eadem summa tantumodo astringere subtamen

Ut mihi libitum fuerit resservato etiam quod non obstante prædict meæ vitalis reditus omnium et singularum terrarum et aliarum supra scripta quod licebit dicto meo ffilio levare annuatim de ffirmis et proficuis terrarum de Carnwath Lintoune Inglish-Berrie-Grange Ryflatt et Strafrank, librarum ad terminos Pentecostes et Sancti Martini in hyeme per equales portiones Insuper dilectis meis et vestrum culibet conjunctam et divisim Balivis meis in hac parte specialiter constitutis cum consensu prædict et firmiter mando quatenus visis presentibus indilate statum sasinam hæreditariam pariter et possessionem actualem realem et corporalem totarum et integrarum præfatarum baroniarum de Carnwath et Lintoune cum molendinis superioritatibus advocationibus et donationibus ecclesiarum prædict et aliis supra specificat terrarum de Inglish-Berrie-Grange Ryflatt et Strafrank totarum et integrarum terrarum de Drum Gillmertoune et

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Gutters cum turribus fortalitiis pomariis et earum pertinentiis quibuscunque dicto Jacobo Somervill meo ffilio et suo certo attornato apud principale messuagium de Cowthally quaquidem sasina ibi tradita tam sufficiens erit sasina pro omnibus et singulis terris et aliis particulariter supra scriptis ac si unica sasina super singulas terras tradita et concessa fuisset quamvis distingue jacent quibuscunque et omnibus quæ inde sequi possint dispensamus tradatis et deliberetis seu unus vestrum tradat et deliberet secundum tenorem supra scriptæ chartæ meæ sibi Jacobo desuper ad quod faciendum vobis et vestrum cuilibet conjunctim et divisim Balivis meis in hac parte constitutis committo protestatem reservan tamen ut In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti manu mea et manu dicti Gavini in signum sui consensus subscript sigillum meum proprium est appensum apud Edinburgum vigesimo quarto die mensis Maii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo coram his testibus Georgio Rosse de Archibaldo Hamiltone scriptore hujus chartæ Gavino Hamiltone burgen de Glasgow et Joanne Weir servitore Joanni Hamiltone de Raploch.

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Upon this charter, and ane other of the same date and tenor, ther is a seasing given to Margaret Hamiltone, second daughter to Gavin Hamiltone of Raploch, and spouse to Hugh Somervill of Drum, and her young sone James Somervill, ffiar of Drum. By these severall infeftments, the first given att Drum and Gillmertoune, upon the eight day of June, 1696; the second of the same date, relating only to the house and maynes of Drum; the third is ane instrument of seasing containing the barronies of Carnwath, given upon the sexth day of May, 1597. Thir instruments are extracted under the hands of Abrahame Gray, nottar publick, and Archibald Hamiltone, nottar in Glasgow.

Thus farre did Raploch, grandffather to this infant proceed, in order to the securing of him and his mother in the lands of Cliddsdale and Louthian, but to little purpose, in regaird the wholl of the barronie of Carnwath was sold by his uncle Lord Gilbert, ffyve years thereftir in *anno* 1602, and the lands of Gutters, a part of the barronie of Drum and Gillmertoune, wer sold by his ffather Hugh much about the same tyme, soe that this chyldes great expectatione of succeeding to soe opulent a ffortune was hereby

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quyte frustrated, and that before he was capable to discerne or greet for his great losse.

His infancie and youth, dureing his abode att schoolles with his grandffather Raploch, with whom he continued, or at least was upon his charges, untill the eighteinth year of his age, I shall pass with two or three remarkes. The first two evidences, how sensible he was of correctione, and apt to take with rebuke att a tyme when he could hardly discerne betwext his right and left hand. The house of Raploch being much frequented by strangers, and the familie itself numerous, it cannot be imagined but servants took occasione to spend much of their tyme idly, iff not profainely, there was nothing wherein they exercized themselves more than in dyceing and carding. One evening whill they were gameing (ther masters grand-chylde James looking on, being then in the ffyfth year of his age) they first contended and then quarrelled with much noyse, which comeing to ther masters eares, resideing in the garden chamber directly opposite to the kitchen lights, who hearing this great noyse, he makes doune the staires to understand the cause, but not soe quickly but the patting of his staff upon the steppes of the stair discovered his comeing, which made all of

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them betake themselves to their heeles to seek for a place of shelter, knowing weill that if they wer catched they should be soundly battoned, ffor he was a man naturally cholerick, severe, and superstitious, ffearing every bad man that might presage the least misfortune to his house or ffamilie. Being come to the kitchen he finds non there but his grand-chylde James, and the cards upon the table, whiche he takes up and throwes in the ffyre; when they wer burning the chylde cryes out, "Dear grandffather, the bonie king of hearts is now brunt," wherupon his grandffather with his staff strykes him twyce upon the head, saying, "Ffalse knave, know ye the cards allready? soon get out of my sight, otherwayes ye shall be soundly whipt." This correctione even then took soe deep impressione, that dureing his wholl life he hated the playing at cards, nether did he ever but unwillingly exercize himself therin.

The second tyme he was beatten by his grandffather was upon this occasione, Raploch having finished his oune house, and made it one of the stately ffabrickes within the shyre, of a gentleman's house. Att that tyme being built in forme of a palace, but with a court much longer than broad, thereby resembling the fforme of a

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tinnes-court, and that use they made of it, both for ther oune recreatione, and when gentlemen resourted to the house ffor ther divertisement. The having of bowlling-greenes, buttes for archerie, tinnes-courts, and bullziart-tables, in and about noblemen and gentlemen's houses, is better by ffarre ffor manly exercize, then to pass ther tyme in drinking, smocking tobacco, ffingering of cards and tables. As Raploch did not at all medle with these later games, soe did he but seldome exercize the former, except when civilitie oblidged him thereto for intertainement of his guestes; much of his tyme he imployed in building, verefying the proverbe, That whene once a man dippes his ffinger in the morter, he can hardly withdraw it. And soe it was with him; for having now fineshed what he had designed about his oune house, he falles to the building of a publict schooll upon the Braehead, a place neer the Millne Haugh, ane countrey village belonging to himself and the Goodman of Burnet-hill, his neer relatione and next nighbour. Soe zealous and devote a Christian was this worthie gentleman, that seing God had blessed him with ane opulent fortune and a hopefull successione to enjoy the same, yet would he not monopolize these, but make others partakers

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of heaven's blessings to him, in haveing ther children educate and brought up in the knowledge of letters at his expence, knowing weill the falsehood of that Romish tenet, that ignorance is the mother of devotione. This schooll house he built two stories high, haveing a large vault beneath weill lighted for the schollers to learne in, with ane convenient dwelling-house above for the master. This worke being brought syde wall height, and the gavilles a-mounting, ther wanted dailles[1] for scaffolding. The workemen being unwilling to discontinue the worke untill they wer brought from Glasgow or the ferrie, they resolved to supplie that want with the readyest, which was these dailles that covered the cums,[2] over which the vault was casten ; it being now a considerable tyme since the same was closed, and in the drouth of summer, they apprehended noe danger in strikeing the standarts that supported the cums, therby to come by the dailles that lay above them next to the vault. When they came to strike the two last standarts, the wholl vault came doune, and killed fyve men

[1] Planks, or boards.

[2] The *Cum*, or *coum*, is the wooden frame upon which the stones are laid while an arch is building.

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that wer removeing the timber below, and three meassones that was upon the walles above that sanke doune with the scaffold, and wer all crushed in pieces. This was a lamentable accident, and the most fatall that had happened in the wholl course of this gentleman's affaires dureing his wholl life, therefore much regratted by him at the tyme and eftirward, when it was spocken of. The noyse of this fall of the vault, and the cryes of the surviveing workemen and other spectatores, came quicklie to his eares, the place being att noe great distance from the Raploch house. He came quickly doune the back stair, passeing through the gairding and out at the back gaitt, goeing where the schooll house was building; the first he meets with is his litle grandchylde James, who with others of his companiones had been playing about the worke, and not many minutes before the fall of the vault had all of them been upon the scaffolds. There they had undoubtedly perrished, iff divine providence and God's great mercie had not removed them a litle before the ruine therof to a green before the house, there, in imitatione of the workemen, to build a litle house for themselves. But soe soon as this accident had happened, they made to ther feet and rune severall wayes. This

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chylde, with his coats in his armes, runnes home as fast as his litle legges could carry him, untill he mett with his grandfather, to whom all amazed he cryes out, " Dear grandfather, the schooll is fallen doune and slaine all the folke." Wherupon his grandfather takes him a sound cuff upon the cheek, saying, " Sirra, be allwayes slow in telling evill newes and swift in telling good." Without saying any more he goes on to see the sad spectacle of soe many mens death, leaveing his grandchylde all in teares, more afflicted for the cuff he had gotten then for all the disasture that had happened at the falling of the vault house. However, this advyce, with the memento, took soe deep impressione upon this chylde, that eftirward he was never knoune to be the first reporter of any newes.

Haveing now passed his infancie, in the tenth year of his age, he was by his grandfather putt to the grammar schooll, ther being then att the toune of Delserf a very able master that taught the grammar, and fitted boyes for the colledge. Dureing his educating in this place, they had then a custome every year to solemnize the first Sunday of May, with danceing about a May pole, fyreing of pieces, and all manner of ravelling then in use. Ther being at that tyme few or

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noe merchants in this pettie village, to furnish necessaries for the schollars sports, this youth resolves to furnish himself elsewhere, that so he may appear with the bravest. In order to this, by break of day, he ryses and goes to Hamiltoune, and there bestowes all the money that for a long tyme before he had gotten from his freinds, or had otherwayes purchased, upon ribbones of diverse coloures, a new hatt and gloves. But in nothing he bestowed his money more liberallie then upon gunpowder, a great quantitie wherof he buyes for his oune use, and to supplie the wantes of his comerades; thus furnished with these commodities, but ane emptie purse, he returnes to Delserf be seven a clock (haveing travelled that Sabbath morning above eight mylles,) puttes on his cloathes, and new hatt, flying with ribbones of all culloures; in this equipage, with his little phizie[1] upon his shoulder, he marches to the church-yaird where the May-pole was sett up, and the solemnitie of that day was to be kept. There first at the foot-ball he equalled any that played; but for han-

[1] Fuzee.

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dleing of his peice in chargeing and dischargeing he was so ready, and shott soe near the marke, that he farre surpassed all his fellow schollars, and became a teacher of that art to them before the thretteenth year of his oune age. And really I have often admired his dexterity in this, both at the exercizeing of his souldiers, and when for recreatione I have gone to the gunning with him when I was but a stripeling myself; for albeit that passetyme was the exercize I delighted most in, yet could I never attaine to any perfectione comparable to him.

This dayes sport being over, he had the applause of all the spectatores, the kyndenesse of his fellow condisciples, and the favour of the wholl inhabitants of that litle village.

In *anno* 1602, his grandfather Raploch, finding his sone-in-law, Hugh Somervill of Drum, beginning to act in his oune affaires, without his advyce and consent, which formerly he was not accustomed to doe, wherby he runne himself in severall inconveniences by imprudent barganes, that occasioned his contracting of some debts that necessitat him to make away the lands of Gutters,[1] which, about this tyme, he did either

[1] Or Goodtrees, adjoining to the village of Gilmerton, in

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by dischargeing the right of reversione (the same being only wodsett by his father Hugh Lord Somervill,) or by granting a dispositione of these lands to President Prestoune, haveing never seen ther rights I cannot be positive which of the two; however, this actione and some other circumstances that occurred at the tyme, soe incensed his father-in-law Raploch, that he registrat the contract of marriage that had passed betwext Hugh Lord Somervill, his sone, himself, and his daughter Margaret Hamiltone; and upon that the two charters and seasings that followed upon them, he raises ane inhibitione[1] the twentieth of February, 1608, executes the same the twentieth and third of that moneth, and thereftir registrat the inhibitione with the executiones the seventh of March, 1608. Albeit these proceedings displeased his sone-in-law Drum at the tyme, yet it proved a mean to preserve the remaineing fortune of that once great estate to his grand-chylde James; who haveing now learned

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Mid-Lothian. The property (now called Moredun) belongs at present to Gilbert Meason, Esq.

[1] A form of Scottish law, by which a creditor upon a real estate interdicts or prohibits the proprietor, his debtor, from doing any deed by which his security over the property may be affected.

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his grammer at Dalserf, was putt to the colledge of Edinburgh, and keeped at it by his grandfather Raploch, unto whom he was obleidged for his food, rayment, and educatione, untill the eighteinth year of his oune age, att which tyme he was in the batchellour classe, haveing allready continued three years at the colledge, he myndes not to remaine the fourth. Supposeing himself now able to bear armes both for strenth and stature, he resolves to try his fortune for a few years att the warres. Noe perswasione of his grandfather, the commands of his father, nor yet the teares of his mother, being now her only sone, (her other sone Gavin, named eftir his grandfather Raploch, being dead some years before,) could prevaill with him to alter his purpose; but to the warres he will needs goe. In order to this, he furnishes himself in the best manner he could, haveing nether the countenance nor assistance of any of his freinds, save of the Earl of Wintoune, his cousine, and my Lady Rosse, his aunt by the mother syde. The first of these gave him a letter of recommendatione to his uncle Sir John Seatoune, who was at that tyme a captaine in the French king's regiment of guardes. From his aunt he had gold to defray the charge of his journey, and keep

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him some tyme untill he came to imployment, for without that it was not possible for him to continue long abroad, seing he was not to expect bille of exchange from his parents, haveing gone away much against ther willes.

In the moneth of Apryle, 1614, he sett saill from Leith, and the same moneth he saifly arryves at Deep.[1] Three dayes thereftir he takes journey for Paris by waggone, to travell with the messenger being too expensive for him, who knew not how to come by money, that being spent which he had. The day eftir he came to Paris, he finds out Sir John Seatoune, being then at court, and delyvers to him the letter of recommendatione he had from the Earle of Wintoune, which he haveing perused, Sir John takes him in his armes as his neer cousine, and wellcomes him to Paris, promiseing to list him a gentleman of his oune company within a few dayes, and untill then commands his constant attendance upon himself, which he courteously putt off, by telling his cousine, Sir John, he was furnished with money for some moneths, and, for a litle tyme, he would view the court, citty, and

[1] Dieppe.

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countrey, and thereftir attend his commands, which accordingly he did, and then was receaved in his company, wherin he continued three years. The French king, Lewis the Thretteinth, haveing then warres with his oune subjects of the protestant religione, because they would not give up the cautionarie tounes wherwith they wer intrusted by his father King Henry the Fourth, att the last pacificatione; this French warre being noe part of my bussinesse, but soe farre as this gentleman was concerned therin, I shall passe it over in silence. Dureing this warre he was present att the seidges and takeing in most of these townes, where he behaved himself soe resolutely that preferrement both in that and other regiments was severall tymes offered to him; but he would accept of non, in regaird his father made him promise before his goeing to France that he should accept of noe charge, therby to ingadge his stay there, or hinder his comeing to Scotland, upon the first advertisement from him or his mother; and truely ther was great reasone for this, seing he was the only hope not only of the familie of Drum, but of that of Cowthally, in the male lyne.

For this gentleman's particular actings dureing the tyme of this warre, I can give but litle

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accompt, only this, that notwithstanding he was as feirward as the most resolute in all the attackes and stormes given to these tounes taken by the French king, yet was he never wounded but once by ane herqubush shott in the hip, as he, with severall other commanded men was climeing over the ruines of a bastion, out of which they had beat the enemie some hours before. This shott being in the fleshie part of his hip, keeped him not long from actione, but that he was resolved to be present att the generall assault that was to be given to the toune of Mountoben.[1] The breaches being opened, and the mynnes ready for springing, the day before the toune should have been stormed, he, with some of his fellow-souldiers of the same religione, went a legue from the campe to hear a protestant preacher, who, observeing them to belong to the king's armie and strangers, comes to them eftir sermone, and sayes, "Gentlemen, yow are come this day to hear sermone, and to-morrow you are to fight against your brethren of the religione." This discourse of the preacher, with some other

[1] Montauban, a principal strong-hold of the Hugonots, taken from them in 1629, when the fortifications were demolished.

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of the lyke nature, had allmost debauched his comrades in makeing forfault both ther honour and neglect their duety, by deserting ther cullores now when ther military oath calles them to actione. But this young gentleman being the only schollar amongst them, takes upon him roundly to tell the minister he was much mistaken, they wer not to fight against the protestants upon the account of their religione, but as they wer rebelles to ther native king, to whom they ought to submett and give up these townes they unjustly held out against his royall pleasure. This smart reply, with some few arguments tending to the same purpose, confirmed his comrades in the justnes of the cause they wer fighting in under the king's banners, and made all of them with him returne to their culloures and duety.

It had been much to this young gentleman's advantage, and the honour of his familie too, if he had still continued of that judgement, when, being of greater age, it may be presumed he was more capable to understand that truth he then mentained; but I passe this untill I bring him to act a part upon the theater of that bloody rebellione commenced by his oune natione against ther oune prince the best of kings, for pietie to-

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wards God and justice towards his subjects, in whom alone may be found all these morall vertues admired by the heathens and commended by the Christians. But I returne.

That very day wherin the toune should have been stormed, the vigilence of the beseidged in makeing up ther breetches, and countermynding all or most part of the beseidgers mynnes, made the king, by the advyce of his generalles, resolve to raise the seidge for that tyme, the seasone of the year requyreing the same, being neer the latter end of November. When the king's armie was drawing off, the foolish inhabitants made effigies of straw resembling men, and placed them upon their walles and bastiones with ther faces to Paris, whipping them back to keep ther Christmasse there in derisione; and withall they signified to them ther pasche egges[1] should be ready against ther next returne. This frolick eftirward cost them dear when ther toune was at the king's mercie, and really such fooll proceedings are altogither unworthie of men of honour, as all souldiers pretends to be; and if any of that stampt had been within the toune they

[1] Easter-eggs.

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ought to have restrained this mad insolencie of subjects against ther lawfull prince, whom they might have supposed would have his revenge, as it fell out shortlie thereftir; for this toune being taken, most of the inhabitants was putt to the sword, and that same preacher, with ane other protestant minister, fell in the hands of this gentleman and his comrades, who not only saved ther lives, but the next day conveyed them quyetly out of the toune, in order to ther escape. Howbeit, it was ther misfortune, the third day thereftir to be taken by some Romish souldiers, and brought back to the armie, where being knoune formerlie to have had their pardone from the king, he would hear of noe addresse for them now, but commanded they should be both hanged, as haveing abused his clemencie and mercie in re-entering the rebellious toumes to confirme ther obstinacie.

Most of the cautionarie toumes being reduced to the king's obedience, he puttes garriesones in some and dismantles others by levelling ther walles and fortificationes, and then disposes of his armie, a part whereof he sends unto the United Provinces in the Netherlands, and others of them he places in his frontire garriesones next to Spain and Italie. This young gentleman,

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whose memorie I wryte, had by this tyme continued three years in the warres, wherein dureing the active part therof he had twyce [made] the tour of France. He resolves now to visite his owne countrey, being informed that his majestie of Great Brittane was resolved to visite his ancient kingdome of Scotland that year. In order to this, haveing procured his passe, with ane ample commendatione of his fidelitie and valour from his captane, he ships att Ruin[1] about the midle of Jully, and the later end therof he lands att Prestoune Pannes, where comeing a shoar, he payes his first respectes to the Earle of Wintoune, to whom he had letters from Sir John Seatoune, his late captane, and others of that nobleman's relationes and acquentances then in France. Haveing taken his leave of his cousine the Earle of Wintoune, he comes by land to Edinburgh, where he was informed his father and mother wer for the tyme. As he journeyed from Seatoune to Edinburgh, he beheld multitudes of poor people that wer gathering myles lam, latuce, and other pottable herbes, from amongst

[1] Rouen.

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the growing corne, there being a great dearth, or rather a famine, that year in Scotland, because of the excessive raines that had fallen the preceding harvest, which rotted and spoyled the best part of the victuall. This sight even then inclyned him to returne from whence he was come, as haveing never seen such penurie and want, notwithstanding of the waistes and devastationes made by the numerous armies in Ffrance. This resolutione he keepes to himself, untill he had visited most of his relationes in this country, particularly my Lady Rosse,[1] his aunt, who resided then in the west, att the place of Hackett, to whom he goes and payes his respects as weill became him, being in effect his second mother. Eftir ten or twelve dayes stay with her, he made his resolutione first knoune of his goeing abroad, whereat she stormed extremely, and used many arguments to perswade his stay, alledgeing, that seing he was his father's only sone, it was propper and fitt he should seek eftir a wife to continue the memorie of his familie, and even then begane to propose severall matches to him, both

[1] This was Jean Hamilton, daughter of Gavin Hamilton of Raploch. She was married to Robert, fourth Lord Ross, of Halkhead.

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in the west and east, of her acquentance. But albeit this gentleman had veneratione enough for the persone and qualitie of his kynde aunt, and sooner would have followed her advyce then any others of his freinds whatsomever, yet at that tyme he begged her ladyships pardone, protesting as yet he could not dispose of himself that way, being resolved to see more of the world, and to have his countrey and familie in a better conditione then they wer in for the present, before he could thinke of marriadge, or how to sustaine a familie. This prudent lady, haveing exonered herself, forbore to presse him farder, finding he had much improven himself by his late travelles, and might doe much more soe, being but yet in the twentieth and one year of his age. This lady haveing a resolutione herself to come to Louthian, she bringes him along with her, where, by the way, she visites her brother Raploch, and stayes with him all night. He receaves his nephew with much kyndenesse and many imbracements, being exceeding glad to see him soe compleat a gentleman, both in persone and partes, whom he wellcomes to his house (where he had been bred and brought up for soe long a tyme,) with all the demonstrationes and effects of a loveing uncle. Efter breakfast his

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sister acquaintes him with her nephewes purpose of goeing abroad the second tyme. This he utterly dislykes, upon the same grounds she herself had done. Instantly he would have been at the perswadding of him to change his mynde, but that this wittie lady assured her brother it would be to noe purpose, for allready she had used her reasones and authoritie, and could not prevaill, albeit she pretended, as she weill might, to have as much command over him as any else next to his parents. Being come to Edinburgh, she kept him still with her, as being unwilling he should be the first informer of his father and mother that he mynded againe to goe abroad, soe much foirsight and dexteritie had this excellent lady, who, to speak noe more than the truth, was the oracle of her tyme, from whom the chancellor and the remanent officers of state receaved ther responses in all matters of importance relateing to the church or state. It is very weill knoune, and resent in many men's memorie yet alyve, that as God made her the instrument to preserve the noble and ancient families with whom she matched,[1] which wer neer ruined before she

[1] She had by Lord Ross, James, his heir, and a daughter, Elizabeth, married to Sir Archibald Stirling of Keir.

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came to have that neer interest, soe that ther was nothing of publict concernement brought before the counsell, wherein privately her advyce was not sought, before the same was determined, soe great esteeme had her wisedome and vertue gained, that the wysest in the natione that satt then att the helme of affaires, thought it derogated nothing from their own experience and knowledge to consult with her. Thus qualified, it may easylie be beleeved her oume relationes wer absolutely counselled by her, and non more then her brother-in-law Drum and his lady, who, in all ther affaires, wer directed by her, and supplyed in ther wantes. Them she brought not to gainsay, albeit they would not consent to ther sones goeing abroad, nor yet to furnish him a sexpence whill he was absent. This ther sone accepted, being weill satisfied to have ther countenance upon any termes untill he goes off the countrey. Being now ready to depart, he comes to take his leave of his parents, to receive ther commands and blessing. His father being a weill natured gentleman, admittes of him kyndelie, and at parting, with his blessing, gives him ten Jacobuses, telling him when his money was spent he would mind home. From his mother he had but few wordes and fewer deedes, only

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in some passion she told him it was weill he left two sisters to enjoy ther estate, seing he valued it soe litle himself. To this he answeared nothing, but thanked them for ther care of him, and promised that if God spared his life, he should returne within two years and a half at most. Upon this he kneelles and receaves both ther blessings with teares. His loveing aunt, my lady Rosse, is the last he resolves to part with, being then at her castle of Malling,[1] in Mid-Louthian; to her he comes, and receives many good injunctiones how to demaine himself. At parting, with her blessing, she gave him twentieth pieces of gold. Thus furnished with fourtieth pieces, ten whereof he had gotten from his uncle Raploch, he sett saill from Prestoune Pannes the eight day of September, and returnes back to Ffrance, eftir sex weekes stay in Scotland. The twelth day eftir his embarkeing he lands att Deep, and from thence postes for Paris. Being now fully resolved to see Italie before winter, and to Christmasse att Ruin[2] if possible, soe soon as he came to Paris he payes his

[1] Melville-castle, then the seat of the Lords Ross, now of Lord Viscount Melville.

[2] Rouen.

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respects to his old captane, delyvered such letters as he was intrusted with, and then visited his old comrades and fellow-souldiers, who marvelled much at his short stay in Scotland; but being informed by him of the present staite of ther countrey, they commended his resolutione in returneing, and mynded themselves not to see it, untill they heard better newes.

Eftir some deliberatione how to order his journey for Italie, whether by sea from Marsilles directly to Rome, or by land to travell with the messenger, he was not yet determined. The first was dangerous because of the Turkes pirrites that infested at that tyme the Mediterranean Sea from the coast of Barbery; byside it frustrat the great designe of his journey, which was to see the countrey of Italie; and to travell with the messenger was both expensive and peremptorie, by a due observatione of ther dyettes and removealles; soe that travelleres had noe tyme to see the beautie of the countrey or rarities of citties. Whill he was upon thir thoughtes it was his good fortune to meet with his old acquentance and cousine, by the house of Cambusnethen, Lodovick Lesselie, a younger son of the house of Lindores, that mynded likewayes to see

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Italie that winter. To him he impartes his designes and doubtes. They at lenth both concluded, that seeing they wer young and lustie, and not weill stocked in money, the easyest and safest way was to journey by land upon ther foot; the seasone of the year being now the pleasantest, by reasone of the vine vintage, and the heat of the sun now much abaitted. They parted from Paris the first week of October, 1617, accompanyed only with a French gentleman that was going for Italie, and could speak the language, as haveing been in that countrey before. Of him they wer exceeding glad, being ther acquaintance, and noe great enemie to ther religione. Somervill, for soe he was designed by his comerades in France, had converted most of his Scots gold to French pistolles, two parts wherof he gives to a French factor, and from him receaves a bill for the lyke soume, to be payed att four dayes sight, in Millen, Florence, or at Rome; for in all these citties this factor had his correspondence. Eftir his example his fellow-traveller did the lyke, wyselie foirseeing that in caice they should have been robbed by the way, they might know where to come by money, without the necessitie of begging or starveing.

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Here I might take occasione, from this young gentleman's observationes, written by his oune hand, to give a fair descriptione of soe much of Italie as he passed through, seing, as appeares, he had been very curious to observe the customes and manners of each province and cittie, ther situatione, lawes, and liberties, with ther strenth and the forme of ther fortificationes, in all which he is most exact, as he is in descryveing the pleasantnesse of the countrey, the profitablenesse of ther navigable rivers, with the lesser ones, which indeed makes Italie the gairden of Europe, Tuskanie the gairden of Italie, and Florence the cittie of pleasure, sentured in it. But this being soe often done by later travellers, I shall not take upon me to give any farder account, then to note doune the particular places this gentleman with his comerades toutched in ther journeying from Paris to Rome, and from thence to Vinnis. When they had passed the confines of France they came to Geneva, ane imperiall toune in the Duke of Savoyes, famous enough for expelling ther prince and bishop, being both in the persone of one man; but acknowledgeing the Duke of Savoy for their cheiff lord, and with him the Romish religione, forming ther governement in a commonwealth, wherin they continue

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untill this present, mentaineing ther libertie more through the nighbourhead of the cantones, the jealousies of France and Spain, the malice and envy of Savoy, then any wealth or strenth of ther oune. It was to this toune that John Calvine, a subject of the ffrench kings, being banished for his religione, fled and became ther preacher, att which tyme, finding the civill governement of that cittie to be a commonwealth, he modelles the ecclesiastick governement of the church as neer thereto as he could, under the name of presbyterie; and from hence did aryse that denominatione of Presbyters that hes made soe much noyse in the world, and in non more than in our oune natione. But of this eftirward. The situatione of this cittie, its fortificationes, forme of governement, and the manners of the people, I leave to these that hes made a full descriptione of it allready. It suffices that what was worthie to be seen or knoune came within this young gentleman's observatione, haveing continued sex dayes in this place, off purpose to observe ther customes and to hear ther preachers, so much famed through the Christian world.

Parting from this cittie, they made as quickly as they could through the Duke of Savoyes territories, remaineing in noe place but where they

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nighted, except in Tourin, the principall cittie and residence of the Dukes of Savoy. The pleasantnesse of this cittie with the court, kept them three dayes, untill they had seen what was remarkeable, and then they made on in ther journey, passeing the Alpes at the ordinary place in three dayes. At lenth they descended into Lombardie, and then comes into the cittie of Millen, anciently a dukedom of itself, but now belonging to the King of Spain. The thing most remarkeable in this place is the largenesse and strenth of the castle, at this day supposed to be one of the strongest holdes in Europe, wherin ther is allwayes kept a powerfull garrisone, with all manner of ammunitione of warre, by the King of Spain. From this cittie they came to Genoa, a toune famous for its staitly buildings of pollisht marble, and excellent sea captanes, especially Aurria, who was admirall to Charles the Fyfth. Being removed from this cittie, and passed the confynes of Lombardie, they travelled through Tuskany, and comes to the cittie of Florence, beautified both by the pleasantnesse of the seat and the many staitly pallaces of severall noble Florentines; but non soe magnificent and glorious as these belonging to the house of

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Medina, the present Dukes of this cittie, and of the greatest part of Tuskany,

a wealthie citizen of Florence being the first great man of that name and familie, whose posteritie enjoyes and keepes the royaltie of that republict. The many rarities that was to be seen both within and without this cittie, particularlie ther large gairdenes and meadowes, invited this young gentleman and his comerades to stay in this cittie eight dayes, which being over they hasted to Rome, where they arryved and entered the gaittes of that cittie, once the mistresse of the world, the twentieth day of December, nyne weekes or thereby eftir they had parted from Paris, so that not compting the tyme they spent in viewing the country, and resideing in great citties, this gentleman with his companions travelled upon foot betwext Paris and Rome in somewhat lesse than sex weekes tyme.

My ordinary method I shall observe, makeing noe descriptione of this cittie, nor wryte any thing of what the pope holdes in spiritualles or temporalles in and about Rome, and other places of Italie, nor yet shall I say any thing concerneing his court and counsell of cardinalles, as these and every circumstance relateing thereto is obvious

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to the meanest capacitie that will be at the paines to read what is written of them by many authors; but it suffices that what was worthie to be knoune and seen escaped not thir gentlemens curiosity, during ther sex weekes stay in this cittie, which now they resolve to leave, before all ther money was spent, which here they had receaved, conforme to ther billes of exchange. The French gentleman who had been a faithfull comerad, and very steedable to them in ther journey, takes his leave, being mynded to returne to his oune countrey by sea, haveing suffered much in his journeying upon foot from Paris to Rome. For Lodovick Lesselie and his comerad they resolved to see more of Italie before they returned to ther oune countrey; and at ther leaving of Rome they had some thoughts of goeing to Naples, to see that famous cittie and kingdome, then, as at this present, in the possesione of Spain; but when they considered ther money would doe litle more then serve to carry them there, that haveing nether interest nor acquentance in that place to procure any to supplie ther wantes, they should be necessitat either to ingadge in the Spanish service, which was non of the best, or to beg home, which ther generous spirits could not away with, therefore

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they alter ther purpose, and goes directly for Venice, knowing weill that when ther money failled they might take on[1] with that republict, many of ther countreymen being in the service of that state in the qualitie of officers, to whom they might have ther recourse when ther necessitie pressed them to ingadge as souldiers. This they doe; for, being come to this cittie of wonders, standing in and upon the watters, famous through many ages for its situatione and governement, and wars commenced not only against ther nighbour princes and states of Italie, but against the greatest monarches in Europe and Asia; and when it was ther misfortune to be losers in any warre, they were sure to make up that by ane advantageous peace, soe much dexteritie in the matters of governement had these noble senatores to mannadge the great affaires of that state both in peace and warre, that in the preceeding ages, and at this present, hes made them soe considerable in the world, and formidable to ther greatest enemies, that they have been glad to seek ther allyance upon reasonable termes.

In this cittie these two gentlemen remained

[1] Enlist.

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fyve weekes, dureing which tyme (soe long as their money lasted) they travelled the cittie over, and the other islands within the lake, wherein they beheld varietie of objectes to delight the eye, but in non soe much as in the island Mourranno, abounding all over with goodly houses, large gardenes, and a thousand other pleasures. Here are these soe famous glasse houses, wherof soe many admirable inventiones in that kynde are made, as gallice tents, organs, and such lyke, wherof the quantitie yearly amounted to sextieth thousand crounes a moneth.

How the cittie of Venice, which from her infancie hath mentained herself free, and as a virgin for one thousand and four hundered years, hath hitherto been untoutched with any injurie of warre or rapeing, either from a foraigne power, or from a civill warre amongst themselves; is noe part of my businesse to discourse of, especiallie seing ther owne author and those of other nationes, hes allready made the same sufficiently knoune to the world. It was in the service of this state that thir two gentlemen entered, under the command of Captaine Scott: soe soon as thet captaine was acquainted with them, and understood their qualitie, he was pleased to treat them at another rate then common souldiers; for,

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haveing admitted them as gentlemen in his oune company, they wer free of all duetie, and had ther libertie to come and goe from ther garrisone when they pleased, the state haveing noe warre at that tyme; and as in this he obleidged them much, soe by his kyndenesse in offering to lend them what money they should stand in need of, he gained ther affectiones intirely. In this service they continued somewhat more then a year and a half, dureing which tyme they had opportunity to see most of the tounes and territories belonging to the Venetians in Italie, albeit most of their residence was in the cittie of Berguimo, a toune and territorie belonging to the Venetian republict. This young gentleman and his comerad Lodovick Lesselie, haveing a mynde to returne to ther oune countrey, they acquaintes ther captaine with this ther resolutione, who very willingly gave them ther passe, with a large commendatione of ther duetyfullnesse and vertue; as for ther valour, it being a tyme of peace, ther was no occasione given for them to evidence the same. Being now ready to depart, ther captaine again very courteously pressed gold upon them, to be payed with ther convenience when they came to ther oune countrey. They thanked him very heartilie for that kynde offer, and his former

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respects, wherof they should be ever myndefull, but withall told him ther was noe necessitie, seing they wer prettie weill furnished for ther journey, and hoped they had as much gold as would carry them home, if they met with noe misfortune upon the road. Haveing taken ther leave of all ther acquentances and fellow-souldiers, ther captaine being the last who treated them noblie, they parted from Berguimo the first of Apryle, 1620, eftir two years stay in Italie. They took ther way through the cantons, then through Lorraine and the westerne parts of France, directly to the cittie of Rotchell, where they shipped for London, nether of the two haveing ever seen that noble cittie, nor noe part of England, before that tyme.

The long and happy reigne of Queen Eliza- 1620.
beth, with the peaceable entry of King James the Sexth to that croune, had rendered England one of the most formedable monarchies in Europe, haveing now the intire island of Brittaine, with the other dominiones thereto belonging, under one supreme head, the splendour and glory of whose court was suteable to the greatnesse of the monarch, and wealth of the subjects, many of whose pryme nobilitie, with some of the most

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eminent gentry of three kingdomes, made ther constant residence att ther princes court, which contributed not a litle to the greatnesse and wealth of this cittie wherunto thir gentlemen travellers was now arryved, who haveing cloathed themselves according to ther qualitie, but in the habite of souldiers, appeared both att the court and upon the exchange frequently, being very acceptable to the best of ther oune countreymen and these of other nationes with whom they conversed, but especially to the French and Italians, as speaking ther language exactlie. Thir two gentlemen haveing noe designe to ryse by the court, and ther being then no appearance of warre, the businesse of the pallatinate not falling out untill the succeeding year; for that prince haveing procured himself to be elected King of Bohemia by the states of that kingdome, was shortly thereftir, by the emperor's forces, assaulted in his metrapollitan cittie of Prague, driven there, and depryved of his hereditary patrimonie the pallatinat. This King James, his father-in-law, should have instantly resented; but being inured to a long and peaceable reigne, he was unwilling now to draw a sword in his old age; but the truth is, he had

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ever ane aversione to warre, and the pallatinat, contrary to his expresse commandement, accepted of that croune, which made him unwilling to ingadge against the emperor, for he weill understood it would incense the wholl house of Austria. This and other reasones of state kept back King James from giving any assistance, untill the very last year of his reigne. However, he spent more, as it is constantly affirmed, upon splendent ambassages then might have commenced ane honourable warre, and mentained many brave soaldiers of his owne nationes, that at that tyme abounded in men, especially Scotland, that would willingly have disburdened itself of a great number that had but a mean subsistance att home, and which eftirward encouraged the rebelles to enter unto that unnaturall warre against his sone and successor Charles the First. But to returne.

Two monethes of the summer being over since thir gentlemen came unto London, wherein they had spent ther tyme pleasently, as most young men doe at the court and in courting the ladyes, whesof ther is both for qualitie, breeding, and beautie, as great a number to be seen and conversed with, as in any other cittie in the world. What tyme they had to spare from their busi-

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nesse and visites, they spent in seing Winzor castle, the universitie of Oxfoord, and other remarkeable places within fourtieth mylles of London, to ther great satisfactione. But now the thoughts of returneing home before all ther gold was spent, which they had brought from beyond seas, came in ther mynde. As for Lodovick Lesselie, being a younger brother, he had but litle to expect but the kyndenesse of his great freinds, when at home; and therefore he was indifferent whether to goe or remaine where he was, untill some occasione, either of sea or land service, offered for the warres; and even then it was supposed ther would not be long peace with Spain, seing that Sir Walter Raleigh the year preceeding had fallen in upon the toune of Santonie, belonging to that king, which he plundered and then burned. This soe irritat the King of Spain and his that albeit they had this noble gentleman's life for that and some other guilt of treasone he formerly lay under, yet wer they scarcely satisfied. The caice being this with Lodovick Lesselie, his dear comerade was necessitat to leave him to his good fortune, and goe himself for Scotland, as having ane estate there to which he was to succeed eftir his father's death. I have often heard him complean that it

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was this expectatione, and his father's strict commands, that marred his good fortune both in France and Italie, dureing his long stay in following the warres in these kingdomes, wherin he might have been preferred to places of good command, that would in a short tyme (if God had spared his life) tripled his fortune in Scotland. However, being now to returne to his oune countrey, from which he had been absent since his last goeing abroad, two years and three quarters, therefore he furnishes himself with three suit of the fynest and most fashionable cloathes, with all other necessaries therto belonging, that any gentleman about the court did wear, and by land takes his journey for Scotland. I find noe remarkeable thing occurred in his way home. The first freinds house he came to was that of Sir John Seatons of Barns, his grand uncle by his father's mother. This old gentleman was exceeding glad to see him soe goodly a man, remembering the noble familie he did represent and should have succeeded to, if his unhappy uncle Lord Gilbert, some eighteenth years preceeding this, had not sold the same. The very thoughts of this made teares trinckle doune his reverend cheekes. However, he encouraged

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himself in the hope that this his grand-nephew would yet continue the rememberance of that ancient familie, which had the honour by affinitie to be descended from the same house of Seatoune, whereof he was a cadite himself.

Being come to Tranent, he was informed the Earle of Wintoune was not at Seatoune, therefore he held on his way for the Drum, where being arryved, he was joyfullie receaved by his parents, and respectivelie by ther nighboures, whom this gentleman visited according to ther qualities, knowing from his oune experience and practice all the poyntes of courtship and civillitie as weill as any other man whatsoever. The handsomenesse of his persone, breeding, and complacency of his humor to all that was generous, made his acquaintance universally desyred and lyked of the best, and such for ordinary he still conversed with, during the long time he was a batchellor; but amongst all these the Lord Dallhoussie,[1] the cheif of a noble and ancient familie, his

[1] William, Lord Ramsay, created by Charles I. Earl of Dalhousie, descended from the celebrated Sir Alexander Ramsay, who was distinguished for his valour in the reign of David II. and ancestor of the present Earl, no less known by his military reputation. *Fortes creantur fortibus.*

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father's neer neighbour, being given much to the sport of hunting and halking, could not want the gentleman's company; for when he forgott, or upon some occasione omitted to waitt upon him, he would come over to Drum himself, and take him home to Dallhousie with him, soe much did the vertue and manly carriadge of this young gentleman gaine upon the affectione of this noble persone, that scarce for two or three dayes he would dispence with the want of his company. The same respect had his cousine my Lord Rosse for him; and all others of any worth or generositie within the shyre wer ambitious of his acquaintance, his travelles and souldery haveing fitted him for all company that was not vitious and base. Thus he spent his tyme pleasantly for ten or eleven years eftir his second home comeing, without any thoughts of entering into a marriage state, for any thing I could ever learne, untill the year 1631, that in the moneth of March he had the first opportunitie of seeing the second daughter of Sir James Bannantyne of Newhall, who shortly thereftir became his lady, and it was upon this occasione. The eldest sister of this young gentlewoman had been marryed the year preceding to one James Bannantyne,

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a cousine of her oune, and sone to Mr Patrick Bannantyne, clerk to the criminal court, who being rich both in money and many houses within the toune, and land upon the north syde of Edinburgh, who had marryed sex daughters very creditably, by giveing them great portiones; his only sone James being a handsome youth, he bred both at home and abroad with these of the best qualitie, and to that effect allowed him very largely when abroad. This young gentleman being returned from his travelles, ther was not of what conditione soever appeared soe gallant in ther cloathes and courtship upon the street as he did. Whither this proceeded from his father's humour to have it soe, or the inclinatione of the young gentleman himself, I cannot be positive, but I am apt to beleive the later, seing the father was reported to be a very frugall and prudent man. However, this splended aspect of the sone made him very acceptable to the young ladyes, being withall handsome, rich, and one of the best dancers of his tyme. Thus qualified, it may be supposed he had choyse of mistresses; but he fancied non soe much as his cousine Newhall's eldest daughter, a young gentlewoman beautified with all the ornaments of nature. Her he courts with all the gallantrie of

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fyne language, complementing letters, frequent treats and mascorades, and that without the knowledge of her father or mother, untill he gained her affectione intirely, which haveing done, he caused one of his brothers-in-law, Master Michaell Edward, propone the marriage to her father, Sir James Bannantyne of Newhall, then one of the lords of session, who was much surprysed with the overture, as never suspecting the young gentleman's resorting to his house had been upon any such designe, but allenerly upon the account of kindred and divertisement. However, he gave a civill and short answear to Master Michaell Edward, by telling him he mynded to dispose of his daughter otherwayes; that he might take that for his first and last answear to the gentleman that sent him. This being reported to the young man, he resolves to solicite the father noe more; but to follow his intrigues with the young lady more clossely, seing he was now forbidden her company in publict.

The winter session being up, the father reteired to his countrey house of Newhall, and takes with him his wholl familie. Haveing before this commanded his daughter not to keep company, as he did now strictly discharge her to have any correspondence with James Bannan-

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tyne by letters or otherwayes. This she faintly promised to observe: But how truely may be knoune from what followes, several letters haveing passed betwext thir lovers. He at lenth comes into a little innes neer the place of Newhall, haveing secured with his money the wholl persones therin not to discover his being there. To this place he sends for one of the hynd's daughters, whom formerly his mistres had imployed in carrying of letters to him, and by her gave advertisement of his being in the countrey, which his mistres noe sooner understood, but, shifting her other two sisters, she goes to the Banke, a pleasant peace of wood that lay closse by the house of Newhall, where it appeares ther first appoyntment was made, but not the last; for, not to insist longer upon this discourse, it was in this banke that about two monethes thereftir this young gentlemen soe secured the lady to his interest that ther was noe marrying of her to another; which comeing first to her mother's eares afflicted her extremely, yet out of motherlie affectione, and to save the honour of ther familie, she brought her husband at lenth to give way, albeit he would not consent to the marriage nor hear of a contract, which was performed without any ceremony that winter. Thir mar-

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ryed persones takes up house in Edinburgh, where severall of this young gentleman's needie acquaintances, knowing him to be prodigall of his money and intertainement, hang upon him allmost for their dayly bread, which being taken notice off both by his oune father and his father-in-law, they concluded it was fittest for him to live in the countrey; and, in order to this, they take for his residence the South House, which they mynded to make a purchase of, it being then for the sale, a pleasant dwelling, two mylles and a half upon the south of Edinburgh, and in the parishen of Libbertoune, where they came to dwell the first of March, 1631. It was at the church of this parish that upon the Sabbath, James Somervill, younger of Drum, first saw that young gentlewoman that became his wife, she being then in the company of her eldest sister, who was neer the tyme of her delyvery. Betwext sermones they wer all taken to ane innes to be refreshed, by old Sir David Crichtoune of Lugtoune, ther aunt's husband, where young Drum, as a nighbour and acquaintance to Lugtoune, likewayes came to pay his respects to thir strangers, and eftir the intertainement was over, he was pleased to waitt upon them to the church,

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and eftir sermon to ther horses. This complement being over, and all of them returned to ther respective dwellings, James Bannantyne, out of a pleasant humor, when at supper, enquyred at his sister-in-law how she lyked that gallant that was so courteous to all of them, and waitted so punctually upon herself. To which she answeared, he had much of good breeding, but he was a sodger-lyke man; whereat the company laughed very heartily at the exceptione, and then told her Mars and Venus would make ane happy conjunctione. Most of ther discourse dureing supper tended to the commendatione of this young gentleman, who intertained the same favourable opinione of that worthie companie, soe that a day or two scarce interveened when Mr Bannantyne and this gentleman became not only acquainted, but intimate comerades; and by this occasione ther was frequent opportunities for young Drum to see and converse with this gentleman's sister-in-law, Lillias Bannantyne, to whom, haveing proffered his service, she became his mistres.

The wholl intrigues of their courting shall passe over in silence; it's sufficient to know his service being proffered to the young lady, and

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the motione made to her father and other relationes, the first was accepted by her, and the last intertained by them, with good lykeing. The wholl' of this affair being mannadged and at lenth agreed upon by his aunt the Lady Rosse, and Sir James Bannantyne her father, to the satisfactione of all persones concerned except his mother, who refuised to subscryve the contract, because she thought her sone might have gotten a greater tocher, and that the provisione alotted for her two daughters (yet to marry) was not suteable to ther qualitie, and the conditione which she had been mainly instrumentall by her frugality and thrift to bring her sone's estate unto. The marriage, upon this refuisall of hers, and the contract, was for some few dayes delayed; but at last my Lady Rosse undertakeing for her sister, and adding ane thousand punds Scots to the tocher, the contract was subscryved the fyfth of Apryle, 1631, and the marriage solemnized att Edinburgh the same moneth. In May thereftir Newhall goes to his countrey-house, and takes with him his sone-in-law and daughter, now Lady Drum, where she remained untill she brought forth her first-borne chylde, who being a sone, was baptized at Ester-church, upon the twentieth and fourth of January, 1632, and na-

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med James eftir his grandfather, Sir James Bannantyne of Newhall. The spring following of this same year, this gentleman, whose memorie I give with his young lady, takes up house of ther oune; and because ther was then noe second house upon the estate of Drum fitt for him to reside in, his aunt the Lady Rosse gives him one att Midlemylnes, belonging to her sone the Lord Rosse, wherin he dwelt four years, and there had a sone[1] and a daughter borne to him, both named eftir his oune father and mother. Att length he buyes a roume,[2] upon the southsyde of Gillmertoune, att the toune foot, named Pillriges Mailleing, anciently belonging to the viccares of Libbertoune, in the tyme of poppery fewed out by them to one Master John Moniepennie, whose grand-chylde, Master Patrick Moniepennie of Pillrig, sold the same to one Mungo Short, a fermorer in Keavock Mylne, whose sone William Short disponed this roume to young Drum for the soume of four thousand merkes, the pryce therof being directly what he had receaved in tocher with his lady, which he

[1] The son was the writer of these Memoirs.
[2] Piece of ground.

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imployed for the payment of this soume, infefting his lady in this land as ane additione to her former joynture. The house belonging to this little conqueis[1] he repaires, and then comes to dwell in it, which he did dureing his father's and mother's life, for she was infeft in the place and maines belonging to the Drum, and retained both eftir her husband's death soe long as she lived. Her sone haveing made this conqueis, and being upon the head therof, as for a long tyme he had made noe use of his sword, soe now he layes it quyte asyde, and betakes himself to husbandrie, which he mannadged to the best advantage for some few years, untill the touke[2] of the drum constrained him to his former occupatione. How this gentleman demained himself in a private conditione, both as a souldier, traveller, and countrey gentleman, wee have allready in part discoursed. Wee must now bring him, with the generalitie of his deluded countrymen, to act in a more publict capacity, a part in that warre which ended not but in the murder of their prince, the thralldome of ther oune natione, and the slavery of these churches that first begane the tragedie.

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[1] Acquisition. [2] Tuck of drum.

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23d June, 1637. Whether episcopacy or presbytery be of divine right, I shall not take upon me to debeat, nor indeed wer it fitt from the pen of a countrey gentleman, giveing only the memorie of a particular sirname and familie, the representatives whereof (except him of whom I now write for some few years) was still of the judgement that a moderate episcopacy was the best of governements in the church, being at first peaceably established soe soon as ther was a Christian magistrate in the world, and thereftir continued both in the poorer and corrupt tymes of the church, without ever being brought in questione, untill Calvine's new modell, which was at lenth brought over from Geneva to Scotland by the factions and turbulent heads of some of his disciples, our countrymen; and whither wee was more obleidged to these for their reformatione, or ther way of introduceing the presbiterean governement with it by the sword, in oppositione to the civill magistrat, I leave it unto the memories of the present and future generationes who has allready, and yet may find the smart of such unwarrantable proceedings of subjects against ther governours, being without precedent or example in either of the Testaments. But waveing this and

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the peaceable reigne of King James the Sexth, eftir he had again established episcopacy, untill the thretteinth year of the reigne of King Charles the First, that the spirit of presbytery begane againe to move strongly both in the church and state, that at lenth (in imitatione of the holy legue in France,) the generalitie of the natione entered into a hellish covenant, wherein they mutually obleidged themselves to extirpate episcopacy, and to defend each other against all persones whatsoever, noe not excepting the persone of his sacred majestie; but upon conditiones of ther oune frameing. It is not my designe here (nor indeed wer it pertinent for me upon this occasione) to give the history of our civill warres, ther being soe many able statesmen sufficiently qualified to that purpose, who have, or at least by ther interest may procure a sight of all the publict registers of the natione to that very end. I shall therefore only guesse at some few passages as I proceed in this gentleman's memorie, who was also infatuated with the same zeall of prosecuting a wrong cause, eftirward much regrated, when, upon the ungratitude of those masters he served, he became sensible of his oune errors. But to proceed.

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13th Jully, 1637. Wee may truely commence and give date to the beginning of all our troubles in Scotland, from the therteinth day of Jully, 1637, in which, whill the dean in his sacerdotall abullziements was reading a new-composed lecture in Saint Geilles Church in Edinburgh, the common people, both men and women, flang stones, stooles, or any thing that came first in ther hand, and when that was done, reinforced ther assaultes upon the bishopes then present, who undoubtedly had been all murdered, if some noblemen and gentlemen had not quickly rescued them from the force of the multitude, and, with much adoe, putt them safe in ther oune lodgeings. But it was not the rabble only that was disaffected to the governement and discipline of the church, but persones of all degrees and orders, who shortly thereftir entered unto and ingadged the generalitie of the natione in a covenant directly opposite to the then established governement of the church, and in many things derogatory from the just right and knoune priviledges of the croune of Scotland. It is certane, that nothing but the specious pretexions of religione, and the pretended libberties of the subjects, bloune from the furious mouthes of the then preachers (in

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whom, without a calumny, it may be said truely, ther was then putt a spirit of lying) could have intoxicate the braines, deboyshed the conscience, and deluded the senses of a wholl natione, (a few only excepted who retained ther integrity) as to make them forgett ther duety towards God, ther loyaltie to ther prince, and, for meer timerous fears and jealousies, involved three kingdomes in a bloody warre. However, to reduce the kingdome to a more peaceable temper and practice, the king was pleased to send James Marques of Hamiltone, as his commissioner for the church assemblie, a nobleman unfortunate in all his undertakeings for his master; but the truth is, at this tyme ther was new seeds of discontents and warre dayly sowen. Soe that, to pacifie our natione, his majestie was pleased to give order for revocking the Liturgie, the High Commissione, the Book of Canons, and the Fyve Articles of Perth, made by King James the Sexth. His majestie likewayes condescended that a generall assemblie of the kirk should be holden att Glasgow, the twentieth and one day of November, 1638, and a parliament att Edinburgh, 1639.

When the assemblie wer mett, they fell to declare against bishopes, to excommunicate them

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and ther adherers, and to abolish episcopacy. And as if this had not been enough, upon the breaking up of this assemblie, the covenanters were soe dareing, that they seized upon the king's revenue, suppreſt his ffortes and castles, and att last put themselves in armes, now when the kingdome of Scotland for seventy years preceding this had been unacquainted with a formall and staited warre (these bickerings amongst the nobilitie for state and court interest, in King James his minoritie, and some few years eftir, cannot be reckoned a warre.) Longsyde Feild slaughter, upon the therteinth of May, 1568, was the last upon a publict or nationall account, either as to the civill or ecclesiastical interest, wherein the wholl nobilitie and gentrie of the kingdome concerned themselves for the queen, or her sone's interest, which was there decyded, not by right, but by the sword, a very partiall judge, and yet such as, at this tyme, our covenanters made use of in imitatione of the lords of the congregatione, whom, as a royall bastard[1] did then command, soe now ane adulterous one is intrusted with the leading of this armie that

[1] James, Earl of Murray, a natural son of James V.

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was to march against ther soveraigne, who lately had dignified many of these who now appeared in armes against him, with great honours, and the principall offices of state. But the truth is, noe royall bountie can obleidge unduetyfull and ungrate subjects, when the trumpet of rebellione sounds from the pullpits, which ought to be the chaire of vértue.

Our covenanters haveing changed the goverme- May, 1639.
ment of the state as weill as that of the church, insteed of the king's secret counsell, they framed out of the nobilitie and gentrie a comittie of estates, who ordered the levyeing of an armie from all the shyres of Scotland, the fourth man betwext sextieth and sexteinth being drawen out for this expeditione. The nobilitie of each countie had the command of the regiments of the horse and foott, and the principall gentrie under them. For that of Mid-Louthian, it was commanded by the Lord
and Sir John Wauchop of Nidderie had a company therin, wherto James Somervill, then younger of Drum, was leivetennent. Certanely, if ther had been loyaltie or thought of fighting in this smok expeditione, the generall would have made choyse of more experienced officers to have served under them, as they did when it came to

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earnest in ther two following expeditiones to England, but these was good enough for the tyme, to serve their present designes. The cockatrize was but yet a hatcheing that allmost undoed three nationes, both as to ther religione and civill interest. This armie haveing randezvouzed upon Gladsmuire, forthwith marches unto Dunse Law, neer to Berwick, there they encamped, Generall Leslie, eftir Enord Earle of Liven, being ther generall. The baseness and obscuritie of this man's birth[1] was such, that nothing but the reputatione he had gained in the German warres,[2] under Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, (that darleing of Providence for a seasone,) could have made this man soe much knoune to the world, for his militarie actings att home. How they may be represented by our

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[1] This seems a harsh and unjust aspersion. Sir Alexander Lesley, first Earl of Leven, was descended of the Lesleys of Balquhan, an ancient and honourable branch of an ancient and honourable name. His father was Captain George Lesley, commandant of the castle of Blair; his mother, Anne Stewart, daughter of Stewart of Bellechen.

[2] He was entrusted with the defence of Stralsund, and obliged the celebrated Wallenstein to raise the siege of that place in 1628, and in 1630 he drove the imperialists entirely out of Rugen.

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wrytters to the present and future generationes I cannot say; but certanely King Charles the First placed him under a bad character, when he heard that now the third tyme he was appoynted generall to the Scots armie that entered England upon the account of the league and covenant. "What," sayes the king, "Leslie generall! it cannot be possible, a man that gave me oathes, oathes unrequyred, that he should ever draw his sword in oppositione to my interest." But his majesties goodness and clemencie in this, as in many things eftirward, was abused by these that had neither soulles nor consciences in them.

Dureing the armies lying at Dunse Law, Leslie took care they should be exercised by these few bred souldiers that was amongst them.[1] So-

[1] The noblemen and gentlemen of estate in each county were entrusted with the chief commands, but the commissions of lieutenants, adjutants, and so forth, were filled up with officers, who, like Somerville, had seen service, and were acquainted with military discipline. Baillie, who was present, gives the following picturesque account of the encampment of the army of the Covenant upon Dunse-Law.

"It would have done you good to have cast your eyes athort our brave and rich hills, as oft as I did, with greater contentment and joy, for I was there among the rest, being

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mervill, albeit then but a lievetennent, exercised Mid-Louthian regiment of foot soe dexterously,

chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shire, who came late with Lord Eglinton. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows, muskets and pikes, and to my boy a broad sword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but I promise, for the offence of no man, except a robber in the way; for it was our part alone to pray and preach for the encouragement of our countrymen, which I did to my power most chearfully. Our hill was garnished on the top, towards the south and east, with our mounted cannon, well near to the number of forty, great and small. Our regiment lay on the sides of the hill, almost round about. The place was not ample in circle, a pretty round rising in a declivity, without steepness, to the height of a bow-shot; on the top somewhat plain; about a quarter of a mile in length, and as much in breadth, as I remember, capable of tents for 40,000 men. The crowners lay in canvas lodges, high and wide; their captains about them in lesser ones; the soldiers about all in huts of timber, covered with divot or straw. Our crowners for the most part were noblemen; Rothes, Lindsay, Sinclair, had among them two full regiments at least from Fife; Balcarras a horse-troop; Loudon, Montgomery, Erskine, Boyd, Fleming, Kirkcudbright, Dalhousie, Yester, Eglinton, Cassils, and others, either with a whole or half regiments. Montrose's regiment was above 1500 men in the castle of Edinburgh: himself was expected; but what detained him ye shall hear at once. Argyle was sent for to the treaty of peace; for without him none would mint to treat. He came, and set up his tent in the hill; but few of his people with him. It was thought meet that he and his should lie about Stirling, in the heart of the country, to be always ready in subsidies for unexpected accidents; to be a terror to our neutralists or but masked friends; to make all, without din, march forward, lest his uncanny trews-

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that the generall observeing it, was pleased to give him a large commendatione, enquyreing where he had been bred a souldier. Whereof being informed, he assured him of preferrement, if the warre continued, of which the gentleman was not very desirous, as yet doubting much of the goodnes of the cause they wer to fight for, and farre more of the successe from raw souldiers and unexperienced officers; which the generall knowing too weill, he resolves to try them by a

men should light on to call them up in their rear; always to have an eye what either the north, or the shires, or the west, or our stail host should mister of help. It was thought the country of England was more afraid of the barbarity of his Highlanders, than of any other terror. Those of the English that came to visit our camp, did gaze much with admiration upon these supple fellows, with their plaids, targes, and dorlachs. There were some companies of them under Captain Buchanan, and others in Erskine's regiment; our captains, for the most part, barons, or gentlemen of good note; our lieutenants, most of old soldiers, who had served over sea in good charges. Every company had, fleeing at the captain's tent-door, a brave new colour, stamped with the Scottish arms, and this motto, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant," in golden letters. Our general had a brave royal tent; but it was not set up. His constant guard was some hundreds of our lawyers, musquetiers, under Durie and Hope's command, all the way standing in good arms, with locked matches, before his high gate, well apparelled. He lay at the foot of the hill, with Baillie his serjeant-major or lieutenant-general."—*See Letters and Journals, written by R. Baillie*, p. 175, 6.

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false alarume in the night seasone. Haveing communicated his resolutione only to some principall officers of the armie, and placed a strong guaird of horse att some distance from the reir of the armie to keep up the runawayes, about the third watch of the night, (a thing unusuall now in giveing of allarumes reall or feinzied; for ther was nothing to be heard but whisperings, Horse, horse, or To armes, to armes,) the trumpet soundes and drummes beates upon a sudden. Wherupon ther was the greatest consternatione imaginable in the wholl armie, that this gentleman, whose memorie I give, hes often protested it was both terriefying and pleasant to observe the varietie of men's humours upon this occasione. Some were as if they had been dead for fear, speechlesse, handlesse, and footlesse, sitting or lying calmely still lyke lambes, untill the enemie should come and cutt ther throates. Others ran distractedly up and doune, seeking they knew not nor care not what. In a word, the greatest part of the officers knew not what to command, nor the souldiers what to obey; and ther was some made soe good use of ther feet that in despyte of all oppositione, they brought the newes of the armies being defeat to Edinburgh, by ten hours the next morning, to the great

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amazement of our new comittie and grieff of ther seditious clergie, who wer about to indite a day of humiliation for finding out the accursed thing that made the armie of the Lord flee before ther enemies, but that they had sure intelligence before night to revive ther droupeing spirits.[1]

Whill the disorder was in the armie upon this allarume, it was prettie to see the carriage of two persones, noe more different in ther qualities and occupationes then in ther natures; the first being a captain (when his leivetennent with much difficultie, by beating the souldiers from ther huttes, had brought them at lenth to stand to ther armes,) came trembleing to the head of the companie, with his coat lap full of gunpowder, (as if he had designed to blowe up the enemie with that magazine,) and enquyred what he

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[1] If Baillie is quite correct, the alarm was equal in the camp of their opponents:—"It was constantly reported that one night a false alarm being in the camp, when our drums began to beat, and our matches on the hill to shine through the darkness, there arose such a fray in the English camp, that very many betook them to their heels, expecting from us a present invasion; yea, had not our wise and valorous prince, with his General Arundel, done diligence to encourage, and to find out the groundless vanity of the fray, there had been a greater flight, than with honour could have gotten stayed."—*Letters and Journals by Robert Baillie, vol. I. p.* 174.

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should doe with it at his leivetennent, who bad him quickly throwe it doune, and stand forth with his pick in his hand before the companie, seeing he was ther captaine. The truth is, the gentleman was to be excused in this, for he understood better how to recover his oune estate, being then under burden, and to purchase a farre greater one, then to be a souldier. However, by his prudence and wealth eftirward, he had the good fortune to keep in with all parties dureing our civill warre; and, upon his majesties returne, was preferred to be one of his secret counsell, wherin he continued untill the test turned him off some few monethes before his death. The other was a minister of mean extractione, but reasonably gifted for that office, of a strong bodie, and by what wee may conjecture from his carriage at this tyme and eftirward, of ane undaunted courage; he noe sooner heard the allarume in the campe, but with his broad sword drawen,[1] he comes marcheing to the head of that regiment whereto he was preacher, and cryes

[1] The clergymen upon this and other occasions assumed arms. See a preceding extract from Mr Baillie's Letters, who appears, however, to have had some scruple in using the weapons which he carried.

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out, In the name of God, let us march up to the enemie, and the Lord of Hosts be with us! This forwardnesse gained him much reputatione in the armie, and noe small esteeme amongst his brethren, (when he came home) who then and eftirward wer more for wholl brunt offerings of human sacrifice then of mercie and peace, as became the ambassadours of him whom they pretended to be ther Lord and Master.

The king now weill perceaveing that his gracious concessiones to our natione in generall, and his favours and clemencie to the most active spirits therin, was converted to his oune prejudice, he therefore raises a gallant armie, with which he marches within two mylles of Berwick, within sight of the covenanters; but they by ther late experience, fearing what might be the event if it came to blowes, petitione for a pacificatione, which the king grants. Upon his returne he disbandes his armie, excepting they should have done the lyke, according to the articles of treaty; but our covenanters, insteed of keeping these articles, retained many of their officers in pay, amongst whom was this gentleman, who was now preferred to be major to Collonell Lindsayes regiment of foot. This gentleman had served in

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the Dutch warres in the degree of ane ensigne, and for ordinary was knoune better by that designatione then any other, albeit he was advanced by our covenanters to the qualitie of a collonell, who now myndeing in earnest to make war with the king, they invited not only these of ther oune natione home who had served in Germanie under Gustavus Adolphus, but these of other nationes, especiallie ther ancient allyes the French natione. Cardinall Richelieu, sitting then att the helme of affaires, heighted them (as is supposed) in their rebellious courses against his majestie, by promiseing assistance from the French king; but whatever may be in this ther was noe necessitie. The combinationes first at home; and then ther entering in league with the

I should have said the Triennial Parliament of England too weill supplied all ther need of forraigne forces. But this fell out eftirward. For the present, they modell ther armie of new, under more experienced officers, (the report of a warre with England, and haveing brought home many from most of the kingdomes of Europe to serve ther oune natione,) who, never considering the warre was not commenced against England

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upon a nationall accounnt or ancient emulatione, but directly against the person of the king and his royall authoritie, which this army invaded, against all the reasones under heaven, ther being noe lawes sacred or human to warrand subjects to take up arms against their prince, upon any account, whether religious or civill. But the feares and jealousies of the factions, that the king would never pardon the former guilt, made them relapse in a second, by sending ther armie furth under the conduct of ther first generall, 1640.
old Leslie, who marched into English ground the lenth of Tyne, without oppositione, and there encamped. (As I hinted before, it is not my designe to give a rehearsall of the warres, nor of the historie of our tymes, but soe farre as meer necessitie constraines me upon this gentleman's account, who was ingadged in all these expeditiones against the king in England.) His majestie haveing had some advertisement of the Scots armies march, sent a great part of his cavillrie (the rest of his armie as yet not being imbodyed,) to impede ther passage att Newburne, where the first blood in this unhappy warre was drawen; for the English horse and three thousand foot, under the command of the Lord Convoy, haveing sett themselves upon the brink of

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29th Augt. 1640. the river neer to a place that was foordable, Leslie resolves the next morning to give them a wakning with his great gunnes, which he drawes in the night seasone to the river syde, opposite to the enemies campe, and withall orders a strong partie of horse and dragounes, commanded by Captain, eftirward Major James Bannantyne, second brother to the Laird of Correhouse, (a souldier of great merite for conduct and valour, if the quarrell had been better staited) to passe the river and charge the enemies guaird, (which consisted of fyve hundered horse,) upon the first fyreing of the gunnes, which should be a signe to him. Noe sooner began the day to daune but the cannons thundered upon the enemie, to the great amazement and terrour both of themselves and ther horse, as being yet unacquainted with such morning salutationes; but some few years thereftir this musick sounded not soe harsh in ther ears; for he was looked upon as a great coward that feared ane cannon shott, relyeing upon that proverbe, "He is ane fie[1] man that is

[1] *Fie*, signifies predestined to death. The proverb in the text occurs in the following account of the death of Sir William Bannantyne. "At the siege of Graves, as he was walking somewhat carelessly, being advised to take care of himself,

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killed with ane cannon bullet." Howbeit, the hurt was not great, yet the disorder was much that these gunnes occasioned amongst the king's horse, that even then began to quyte ther stationes, before they receaved a charge from any of the enemies forces. Before the cannon begane to play, Bannantyne haveing drawen doune his horse to the foord, devydes them in two parts, and takes the leading of the first himself. The other he committes to Captain Hamiltone, a brother of the good man of Dalserfes upon Clyde, whom he orders to remaine on this syde of the river, untill he saw him and his wholl partie upon the other bank. This Bannantyne did to secure his retreat, in caice the enemie had had the courage to have charged him upon his very out-comeing from the watter, before it had been possible for him to have drawen up his horse for fighting. But the enemie neglecting that opportunitie, he gives a signe to Hamiltone to foord the river, which he instantly did. And now both the parties being over, that of Hamiltones makeing the reserve, Bannantyne charged

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he said, 'Cannons kill none but fey-folk.' At that very nick of time, a bullet came and severed his head from his body to a considerable distance."—*God's Judgments on Persecutors.*

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the enemies guaird with such fury that he quyte breakes and puttes them to flight, in sight of ther great of horse that stood lookeing on. And upon his comeing up with his wholl partie now imbodyed to inlarge his front, because of the largenes of the enemies, they first began to stagger, and then fled outright before the charge was given. A vile and a shamefull retreat, altogither unworthy of men of honour, as most of them wer, being the flour of the nobilitie and gentrie of the north, and in number neer fyve thousand horse and foot, to run away for a few cannon shott; and a partie of three or four hundereth horse, which was all that came to charge them.[1] What to impute this miscarriage unto is hard to say, want of conduct and experience at the time, or upon de-

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[1] "Ere he (Strafford) could arrive with the army, that infamous irreparable rout at Newburn was fallen out; where the enemy march'd at a time and place, when and where they were expected, through a river deep though fordable, and up a hill, where our army was ranged to receive them: through those difficulties and disadvantages, without giving or taking any blows, (for the five or six men of ours who were killed fell by their cannon before passing of the river,) they put our whole army to the most shameful and confounded flight that was ever heard of."—CLARENDON'S *History of England, Oxford* 1702, vol. I. p. 114.

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signe, it may be; want of courage it could not be, the English cavillrie, for celeritie, order, courage, and speedie executione, as to what is commanded them, is second to non in Europe, (as eftir experience made our natione know.)' Upon the flight of this great bodie of horse, the king hastens to his armie in the north, with a full resolutione to fight the covenanters, when behold our and slee insinuationes (not our gold) had soe farre prevailled with some English lords, that they sent a petitione eftir the king, conformeable to the Scots remonstrance, which they called the intentiones of the armie, viz. not to lay doune armes till the reformed religione (meaneing our Scots presbyterie) was setled in both nationes, and the causers and abetters of ther present troubles wer brought to public justice, and that in parliamentarie way.

" It seem'd afterwards to be a full vindication of the honour of the nation, that, from this infamous defeat at Newburn, to the last entire conquest of Scotland by Cromwell, the Scots army scarce performed one signal action against the English, but were allways beaten by great inequality of numbers as oft as they encountred, if they were not supported by English troops."—CLARENDON'S *History of England, Oxford*, 1702, vol. I. p. 114.

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While it stood thus with the king and the English nobilitie and armie, the covenanters takes in Newcastle and Durehame. The command of this toune was committed to Somervill, as governour, wherin he continued untill the peace was made, and our armie returned to Scotland. These occurrences as to the publict, I passe over with as much brevitie as I can, being unwilling to touch upon them, but when meer necessitie constraines me, in following furth the threed of this gentleman's life, who, in this governement of Durehame, carried himself so warrily, as to the securitie of the place intrusted to his charge, that he feared not any surpryzeall of the enemie, and yet so discreetly and civillie, that he gained the affectione of all the citizens, by giveing them passage and entry att convenient seasones, without putting them to tedious onwaitings for ther passes, as a churleish and covetous governour might have done for greed of money upon frivolous pretences.

1640. Whill he was governour of the toune, he had letters of his father's death, wherupon he posted to Newcastle, to procure from the generall a foirloaf for some few dayes, in order to the being present at the burying of his father. But General Leslie would not hear of it, knowing

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weill the security of the toune, wherof this gentleman was governour, depended principally upon the courage and vigilancy of the commander. When he found there was no prevailling with the generall, he dispatches ane expresse to his lady and his mother, signifying to them it was his pleasure, that seing he could not be present to performe the last duety to his kynde and honoured father, that it should be done with all the solemnities his birth and qualitie requyred, upon his charges, which accordinglie was performed, haveing himself sent from Newcastle to them all the murneings requisite upon such ane occasione.

His majestie finding the pulse of his English nobilitie to beat eftir the maner of our Scots distempers, proposes a treatie of peace, being importuned thereto by the northerne counties of England, that now groaned (besyde the plunderings) under eight hundereth and fyftieth punds sterling each day, for paying our armie, untill the peace should be made, which at lenth was done, and our armie for a seasone sent back to Scotland. His majestie following shortly thereftir, in order to the setleing all affaires both in church and state, which he did to the outmost

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of our desyres, even granting more then our turbulent clergie and factious nobilitie could in conscience or honestie have demanded of him, and infinitely beyond what ther armes ever did or could have extorted from soe religious and generous a prince, whose favours was as watter spilt upon the ground to that untoward and ungrate generatione; for I cannot impute it to the temper of our natione, that in soe many preceeding ages, and at this present, gives evident demonstrationes of ther loyaltie; but to a deludeing spirit that then rang, and yet reignes in the children of Beliall, allwayes disobedient to that lawfull authoritie, anciently established in this kingdome, which hes and yet continues in the lineall successione of soe many glorious princes, as the knoune world cannot parallel the lyke.

1641. Whill his majestie was in Scotland, setleing, as he supposed, a firme peace, which might have great influence upon his other dominiones, (for wee wer still so unhappy allwayes to begin the dance,) behold the Irish rebellione breakes furth upon the fourteinth day of October, 1641, the chieff heads being Sir Phelem O'Niell, Turloch O'Neill, his brother, Rorie M^cQuyre, Phillip Orillye, Moell Murray Orillye, Sir Conah Mag-

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niss, M^c^Braine, and M^c^Mahone. The cruelties and boutcheries committed by these men and ther adherers, the wylde Irish, upon the Scots and English that peaceably had lived amongst them for several ages, was such as is not to be found in any preceeding historie for the suddennesse and universalitie of it, except that of Naples upon the Frenches that was left among them to secure the late conqueis of that kingdome. The particulars of this massaker, and the war that followed upon it, yow may at lenth read in the English histories.

His majestie haveing the first intelligence of this rebellione, when in Scotland, and of the dismall state of the Scots and English in Ireland, sends post to that unhappy Long Parliament then sitting in London, to hasten over releiff to his distressed subjects in Ireland. But that parliament had other designes in ther noddell then to quenche that flame. They were shortly to kindle a fyre themselves (to which we eftirward blew the bellowes, upon the account of our former feares and jealousies, notwithstanding of all the promises made to the contrary, upon the king's confessione to us,) that brunt in all the corners of the land, to the consummatione very neer of three flourishing kingdomes.

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The king's answear from England not being such as he expected, he procured (whereas he should have commanded) from our states that some of these forces which wer yet to disband might be sent to Ireland, which was done under the command of old Leslie, Major-generall Monroe, and other commanders, whereof Bannantyne was one for the horse, that did notable executione upon the rebelles the short whyle he was there; for without derogateing from the due praises of others, he was the sword of the Scots cavillrie, that like ane other Marcellus, beatting his enemies or being beatten by them, he never suffered them to rest, as the Englishes eftirward knew to ther losse, when he with others of his natione was imployed by them (most unwarrantably) to fight against the king, and such of that natione as adhered to the royall interest dureing our civill warres.

Before his majestie parted from Scotland, he had the castle of Edinburgh given up to him, which the covenanters in the beginning of our troubles had treacherously seazed upon, it being then in the custodie of the Earles of Marre, who pretended, as they doe to that of Stirling, to be heretable keepers of these castles. The king, to gratifie this earle, and to make him quyte with-

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out clamour his pretensions to Edinburgh Castle, he gives him two thousand pounds sterling. It's strange to beleive how his majestie and his royall predecessors authoritie hes been and yet is intrinched upon by these heretable offices, such as sherriffes, heretable keepers of his castles and fortes, much of the peace and securitie of a kingdome depending in haveing these not only supplyed with sufficient officers of state and warre, but that they have their dependence and authoritie immediately from the king, to be disposed of att his royall pleasure. His majestie haveing in a maner bought his oune castle from the Earle of Marre, in which he puts a garrisone under the command of Captain Scrimgeor, a sone of the constable of Dundies,[1] a most loyall subject, who abhorred the covenant, and stood much in oppositione therto, for which he suffered in his persone and goods, albeit he was a very old man, and could act very litle to the prejudice of these, that shortly eftir his sones getting the castle to keep, entered in rebellione against

[1] This was the representative of the house of Scrimgeour of Dudhope and Glastre', who were hereditary standard-bearers of Scotland, and also hereditary constables of Dundee, which last was the chief title of the family. The person here mentioned was Sir John Scrimgeour.

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the king, who at this tyme, in all men's judgements, had fairly and peaceably setled the affairs of this kingdome, and then goes to England, where, in imitatione of us, ther is new worke
1642. cutt out for him. The bishopes must have no vote, nor sitt in parliament, evill counsellers must be removed; for the year preceding this they had taken off the head of the Earle of Stafford, the ablest stateman in England, by ane act, which, when it had served ther turne, they immediatly rescinded and annulled, commanding the same to be putt out of all recordes, that eftirward it might not militat against any man. However, it stands registrat in heaven against the contryvers, if by repentance before ther death they prevent not ther judgement. Things growing from worse to worse betwext the king and parliament, the particulars wherof is to be seen in the English historics, his majestie, eftir many affronts and indignities from the tumults, quytes London, and goes to his castle of Winzor, takeing with him the court. Shortly thereftir the queen goes for Holland, with her daughter the Princesse of Orange; and then the king comes to the north of England, accompanyed with the prince, the Duke of Yorke, and severall noblemen and gentlemen. His majestie being gone,

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the parliament makes great preparationes both by sea and land; haveing the toune of London on ther syde, they wer supplyed with money, which is the serjeant of warre. The king being now att Yorke, attended only with his guairds, consisting for the most part of lords and gentlemen, would have entered his toune of Hull; but Sir John Hothame instantly shutt the gaittes upon his majestie; for which the king upon the place caused him to be proclaimed traitor. Eftirward he had his reward from the parliament whom he then served, in haveing his oune head cutt off on the self same day[1] when he would faine have redeemed his disloyalty to the king, by a new treachery to these grand traitors the Long Parliament, who now ouneing ane open rebellione, the king was forced to sett up his standart royall at Notting-

[1] Day Fatality, as it was called, was a superstition much observed at this unhappy period. It was also remembered, that when Hotham first took upon him to defend Hull against the king, he used the remarkable expression, that he would obey the orders of the House of Commons, "Fall back, fall edge;" a saying which was received as prophetie when he was conducted to the block by the orders of the same house to which he had thus solemnly devoted himself.

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hame, the twentieth and second day of August, 1642, his generall being that expert and valiant Earle of Lindsay, who was killed att the very first battell, foughten att Edgehill, in Warwickshyre, upon the twentieth and third of October, 1642, wherin the king had the better, as he had dureing the succeeding year, in which he beates the parliament's forces out of the north and west, recovers all his garrisones, a few only excepted. For these occurrences, see the historie of the civille warre; for I passe them in a word, to be at our oune covenanters again, who, finding the parliament of England was lyke to lose all, ther evill consciences made them affrayed that the king, being master of the feild, might turne his victorious armie, and correct them for ther former rebelliones. This they resolved to prevent, by entering into a league and covenant, being now strongly solicited thereto by the parliament of England, under the specious and plausable pretext of the common safety of both kingdomes, and ther religione and liberties; whereas it was very weill knoune his majestie never designed ane alteratione in any of these as they wer then established in either of the kingdomes, by lawes confirmed by his oune authoritie in parliaments.

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What was above boord in this transactione with the parliament of England, is obvious to every man that will read what is allready written by some English authores upon that subject; for of Scotland I have seen non as yet that hes putt pen to paper to give us any account, but what is written in diverse pamphletes that went current att that tyme. However, it reasonably may be supposed, that one of our oune natione liveing, a man of yeares and abilities, hes allready written, (albeit it be not come to light) or yet may wryte the historie of our civill warres, wherby wee may come to know many of the secretes of our then statesmen, that hes not yet been discovered; for my part, I am apt to beleive, without breach of charitie, that the grand motives that induced our covenanters to enter into that league with the parliament of England, was the jealousies and feares of the churchmen, that again they should be brought under the subjectione of ther old masters, joyned with a vaine ostentatione to be the reformers of the English clergie, in bringing that church to a conformitie with that of Scotland, and how ridiculous an attempt that was the world now knowes; for our nobilitie and gentrie, they had tasted of the fruit of the land of Canaan, and ther teeth wattered to be at 1648.

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them again.[1] England was a good soylle, and produced plenty of gold and silver to supplie the povertie of ther empty title, which had been but lately conferred upon severall of them, to the great disdaine of the ancient nobilitie of Scotland, whose predecessores had attained to these honoures by ther loyaltie to the croune, and notable services done for ther countrey against forraigne enemies in its great extremitie. Some of these begane early to know ther error, how farre blind zeall to the presbyterean interest had carryed them from ther duety and alleadgeance to the king, which made them quickly relinquish that way, and withstand this league and covenant with the parliament of England; but it would not doe; for they in a manner had putt the power out of ther oune hands, by giveing it

[1] These motives are thus more happily expressed by Mr Laing:—"A new order had arisen, more austere and furious than the older clergy. The chairs of theology, and of philosophy, then degraded to its handmaid, were appropriated in the universities to teachers like Rutherford, Blair, Gillespie, Cant, whose faith and violence were at least equal to their literature; and the younger clergy, confirmed by their instructions in the national covenant, improved on the fanaticism of their elder brethren. Their assembly, from the frequent attendance of the nobility, had acquired an undue influence in the state, and their characters a dangerous ascendancy over the nation."—LAING'S *History of Scotland*, vol. I. p. 237, 8.

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to the kirk; and so, insteed of fourteinth bishopes which they had been instrumentall to turne out, they sett up nyne hundereth that dominired for some ten or twelve yeares over both church and state, untill ther usurped authoritie was wrung from them by that grand usurper, Oliver Cromwell, once the presbytereans darling.

For the souldiers ther part, they had been imployed in two former expeditiones, and wer now loytering at home, (except some few imployed against the Irish rebelles,) these wer ready to fight for ther wages, and never spear the quarrell. Half ane croune to eat ther dinner,[1] (as I was certanely informed by one that receaved it himself, and is yet alyve,) was no contemptable pay to a foot souldier. By this wee may conjecture what the officers did make by ther pay and purchase, if they wer courteous. Thus the churchmen, nobilitie, gentrie, and souldiers, being all disposed to tryst with the parliament of England's commissioners, (who came not emptie handed,) the bargane was soon made to the great reproach of our natione, and to the everlasting

[1] I presume this exorbitant consideration was paid by those on whom the military adventurers of Scotland were quartered when on the south of the Tweed.

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ignominie and reproach of those that wer mainly instrumentall therin.

The king had some suspitione of this before it came to open trysting; for the Earle of Montrose had now deserted the covenanters, and was come to the king to give his majestie intelligence of ther procedures, but he could not be heard. The Duke of Hamiltone, and Lendrick his brother, opposed him in his counsell and advyce to the king, by asserting ther was noe such thing intended by ther countrymen; for which they proffered to engage ther honours, lifes, and fortunes; but alace! poor noblemen, all had been quickly forfaulted if the king had keeped them in at ther word; for not many weekes passed before they wer ashamed of ther too too confident assertiones, when they understood the Scots armie was upon the march for England.

Some monethes before this the king had sent by sea Generall Rivan, eftirward Earle of Bramfoord,[1] with a company of English souldiers, to

[1] "This gentleman was the son of William Ruthven of Bandon, in the county of Perth, whose descent was from the ancient Barons Ruthven, men famous many ages since in Scotland, by William, a younger son of William, 1st Lord Ruthven, and Christian his second wife, daughter to Sir John Forbes of Pitsligo. Which Patrick, the first and only Earl of Forth, in his

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strenthen the garrisone of the Castle of Edinburgh, who wer all suffered peaceably to enter the castle, the lyke being then but in agitatione. Our covenanters was unwilling to give the king occasione to suspect them, untill they saw the outmost what the parliament of England would doe in the money matter; and in order to their securitie by assistance, if his majestie should now turne his vulturous troupes against them; and really it is not to be doubted, if the king at this

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youth much affecting military exercises, went over to Sweden, where he served in the German wars under that great prince and famous souldier, Gustavus Adolphus, then King of Sweden, in which valiant adventures he deported himself with such eminent courage, that he arrived to the degree of a lieutenant-general, and gain'd so much honour, that upon his return, King Charles I. was pleased to raise him to the dignity of a lord of this realm, by the title of Lord Ruthven of Ettrick, *anno* 1639, and the same year made him governour of Edinburgh Castle, which he kept for the king's service, and positively refused to deliver it to the parliament without his majesty's special order, for which contumacy (as it was then termed) his estate was forfaulted *anno* 1640. Upon the commencing of the civil war in England in 1642, he freely resorted to the service of his injured sovereign, who appointed him general of his army; and by letters patent, bearing date the 27th of March, 1642, created him Earl of Forth. In the battles of Edgehill, Brentford, and Newbery, performing the part of a most prudent and experienced general, he was further, in consideration of his eminent services, in the year 1645, created Earl of Brentford in the kingdom of England. He died very aged, *anno* 1651."—CRAWFURD'S *Peerage of Scotland, Edin.* 1716, p. 151.

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tyme, or the year following, had given Montrose a detashment of two thousand horse and dragrounes to forme his then great armie with these and the king's freinds, Montrose would outterly have defeated the leaguers designes, by incapacitating our armie to enter England, to divert his majesties forces from persewing and makeing an end of these few forces that yet remained with the parliament; but it was not the will of heaven; for the king was betrayed either by the simplicity or knavery of these that pretended to be his best freinds, and to give him the safest counsell, which in the end turned to ther oune ruine, and the losse of his righteous cause.'

1644. What intrigues and private factiones ther was in this transactione, was best knoune to these that satt then att the helme of affaires in both kingdomes, for what wee know (besydes that unhappy league and covenant itself,) is from the sad effects that followed upon that combination, which the present and future generationes will

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[s] The Duke of Hamilton, and his brother the Earl of Lanerk, both of whom afterwards died in the king's cause, were at this time and long after suspected of disaffection to Charles. The duke was long imprisoned in Pendennis Castle. Lanerk escaped from Oxford.

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remember with a sad regrate, that our fathers should not only be guilty of monstrous ingratitude to their oune native prince, but that also they should have ingadged themselves by this league and covenant, in a knoune and declared perjury, was matter of wonder to all the Christian world, and Mahumitane world also, who heard of it, all breach of promises which the Scots covenanters was really guilty of, and non more then ther generall, old Leslie, who had given oathes upon oathes, yea, oathes unrequyred, as his majestie remembered, when he heard that Leslie was now the third tyme chosen generall[1] by the covenanters, who haveing come for him to receave his new commissione, he comes quickly from Ireland, and bringes with him a part of these forces that was of his oune troupe of horse, being one which Bannantyne commanded, for goe the general where he would he

[1] The Earl of Leven's conscience is said to have checked him upon the point of actually invading England. At least, although he collected the Scottish army at Berwick, he is said to have delegated the principal command to his major-general, the celebrated David Lesly, afterwards Lord Newark, one of the best soldiers of that military age. He himself returned to the siege of Edinburgh Castle.

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was sure to have this active commander by him. Soe soon as he had receaved this new commissione, which he made noe scrouple to receave, notwithstanding of all the oathes and obligationes he lay under to the king,[1] he immediatly

[1] Of this siege I find the following detail in Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland, which, though very brief, is the most circumstantial that has been published. To local antiquaries, the mere narrative in the text, though minute even to ridicule, will possess some interest.

"This garrison began upon the sitting of the parliament in the beginning of June, to use hostility, and killed several of the inhabitants of Edinburgh: Upon this they were summoned in the parliament's name to surrender, and continuing obstinate, they were blockaded, and fired upon from all the eminences in the city. The besiegers played very hard from three batteries, one in the Castle-hill, a second in the Gray Friers church-yard, and a third at the West-Kirk; and towards the end of July, part of the wall was blown up, and a reasonable breach made; but Major Somervill and Captain Waddell having been wounded, and a number of inferior rank killed or wounded in the assault, the besiegers were obliged to retire, and the garrison made up the breach again with baskets filled with earth. After this time, the guns of the besiegers being light, they contented themselves with a blockade of the castle, which issued in the surrender of it on the above occasion, upon condition the garrison were allowed to march out with military honours. The committee with the army were much displeased with their brethren, the committee of Edinburgh, for allowing the garrison such conditions after they were so reduced: But the truth was, they had been so troublesome neighbours, that the citizens were glad to get quit of them on any accôunt, and this procured the more easy terms to them from the committee.

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blockes up Edinburgh Castle (wherin his old comerad and fellow-souldier, Generall Rivan, commanded for the king,) with two regiments of foot, the one belonging to old Colonell Lindsay, wherin Somervill commanded as major, the other being ane new raised regiment, did pertaine to Colonell Blair.

The Seidge of the Castle of Edinburgh. 1640.

I am obleidged to give a particular account of this seidge, seing the gentleman whose memory I am giveing was as much intrusted in carrying on the same, if not more then any other officer whatsoever that had been imployed in that actione.

For the castle of Edinburgh, it needs no descriptione, being weill enough knoune to all our natione, and fforraigners too that comes to Edinburgh, for to stand upon ane high flintie, or rather whinnie rock, impenetrable as to mynding, and unaccessable for ascent or storm. But

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But it is full time we return to the army at Newburn, and enquire into the effects of the late victory."—STEVENSON'S *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, vol. III. p. 923, 4.

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upon the front south-east, next to the toune wher the entry is, by passeing through three gaites, which is altered now by what they wer then, by the abolishing of a large half-moon, named the Spurre,[1] which took up the greatest part of the Castle Hill to litle purpose, seing it added noe strenth to the castle, but putt them that wer within to the charges of a greater number of men then was needfull to defend so strong a hold, almost impregnable by situatione, which Generall Leslie knew very weill; and therefore would have contented himself with blockeing the castle up, that, noe provisione entering, they in tyme might be constrained to a surrender; and truely this had been the safest and least expensive way, considering all circumstances, and the blood that was unnecessarily spent dureing the tyme of this seidge. But our furious zealotes of the feminine complectione within the toune, with ther brethren, and the ministers that keeped themselves farre enough back from blowes, will needs have a formall seidge layed to the castle, and all possible endeavoures used to take it by the strong hand, att lenth was ordered ef-

[1] An outer fortification, somewhat resembling a ravelin.

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tir this maner. Ther was four batteries raised, whereof two (saveing the wisedome and experience of the generall who had the formeing and placeing of the batteries,) were altogither needles, and the third but in part usefull to dismount a few gunnes that stood upon the high round of the castle opposite to that batterie, which was placed in the north-west end of the Gray Friers, where now It had upon it sex gunnes, bearing twentieth and four pund balls. The second batterie was at the West Church, haveing the lyke number of gunnes, but not soe great. The third was upon the long gaitt, which was casten up very high,[1] haveing in it seven large gunnes, but of noe great burden. The fourth, which was only to purpose, they placed within sextieth paces of the spurre, upon the north syde of the street in the Castle Hill, a litle above that yaird where Oliver Cromwell eftirward planted his only batterie, when he besiedged the castle in *anno* 1650. There being noe great deepnesse of ground in this place, because of the raiseing of the rock, they supplyed

[1] On the opposite side of the North Loch, and probably near the present line of Hanover-street.

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the want of earth with horse litter, wherewith they faced up the batterie to cover the gunnes, being all of them Dernie cannons, eight in number, carrying betwext fourtieth and threttieth and sex pund ball; ther was
or port holles made of dailles, for the gunnes to play through, the breast worke being of great thicknesse. The flooring whereupon the gunnes ran was planked with strong timber, and ther was a litle trench of a fathome and a half broad, cutt out of the ground behind the batterie, which was filled with standing watter that was brought to it with a great deall of paines and much hazard, at the first, from the toune walles. For what use this trench was I do not weill remember; but that there was one I am certane, haveing passed over the same severall tymes myself dureing the seidge. The passage to this batterie, eftir a litle tyme was from the castle that all the hazard being when you was within, that a bullet comeing through the might take you off, as one did two principall cannoneires, whereof ye shall hear shortly.

Generall Rivan, all the tyme that these batteries was formeing, played his gunnes hard (wherwith many wer killed) to impede the work, but

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at lenth they wer perfyted in the maner and upon the places I have mentioned; and now, from all quarters, they begane to fyre upon the castle with twentieth and four gunnes with such fury as if they intended within a few hours to have brought doune the castle from the rocke whereupon it standes. Generall Rivan, to let the covenanters know he had store of ammunitione, and better gunnes than they, answeared them with twyce that number; for it is knoune, that the castle of Edinburgh was then furnished with as good gunnes as was in Europe; but for all this fyrie worke that made soe great noyse, ther was more of terrour then of hurt. The main designe of both parties at first, was to dismount one another's cannon, thereby to make them uselesse, which for ordinary is attempted at all seidges, before they fall to the battering of the walles or mynding them. When much powder was spent upon both sides to small effect, Rivan discontinued the shooting, but at such tymes as he was sure to doe the covenanters a displeasure, either in ther workes, souldiers, or gunnes, the truth being, if his generous soull had not pittied the inhabitants of this distracted and ungrate cittie of Edinburgh, that had receaved soe many favoures, and enjoyed soe many privi-

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ledges by the bountie of his majestie's royall predecessores, and his oune grants, wherin ther was not a few thousands that could not descerne betwext the right and left hand, he might easily have reduced it to ashes, or to a ruinous heap, in a very few dayes, notwithstanding of the mountaines of dung which they reared up in ther streets, as high as the toppes of the highest houses for ther defence; but in effect served but only to secure the people walking in the streets, in caice Rivan had played his gunnes that way. But this was farre from his noble thoughts. He was faithfull to his trust, in doeing his royall master's service against his declared enemies, that now beseidged him cled with his commissione, and spared the innocent people, many of whom, notwithstanding of his care to preserve them, was killed of both sexes and different ages, by accidentall and casuall shottes from the castle, when they wer fyreing upon the batteries, and against some eminent places of the toune wherin these that besiedged him had placed musqueteires, to take off his cannoneires, and such souldiers as stood either for defence of the battlements, or as sentinalles.

When Lesselie and his counsell of officers, with ther masters the committie of estates, then

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sitting, perceaved they wer lyke to prevaill nothing by ther battering the walles, they fell to mynding, breaking ground hard by the batterie, commanded by Major James Somervill of Drum, which was that above the upmost house on the north syde of the toune upon the Castle Hill, wheron stood these eight great cannon formerly spocken off; and indeed this was the only proper place fitt for mynding, being neer the spurre, the enemies outworkes, and directly opposite to that only part of the rocke that is ascendable upon that syde where the late usurper resolved to have stormed when he had battered doune the now outtermost wall, and made a large breach in that part of the high half-moon closse by the craig, which may be climbed up with some small paines. It is very strange that old Lesselie, being soe great a souldier himself, and haveing soe expert officers and ingeniers under his command, (who had been present at soe many seidges abroad,) that they should not have taken notice of this ascent of the rocke, (wherby Cromwell thought to have entered by force, if traitors had not given him a more safe and easy passage,) but spent most of the tyme of this seidge in shootting ther bullets either in the air, or at the rocke;

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for what they did was to as litle purpose against the walles of the castle from the batteries at the West Church and long gaitt, in regaird they wer at so great a distance; neither was it possible to bring them neerer, thereby to levell and direct ther shott, for the end they designed, because of the heght of the rocke whereupon the castle is situated.

Dureing this seidge, the castle garrisone sallyed severall tymes furth, and made some notable shotts upon the batteries and in the toune, whereof I shall only relate two passages. Some sheep haveing brocken from the drovers or fleshers, ran up the Castle-wynde, and never stayed untill they came to the north banke of the Castle-hill, which the garriesone souldiers first observeing, (before these that was upon the batteries and within the trenches took notice of them) they issue furth at a sallie-port,[1] then at the foot of the Spurre wall that the second yett of the castle, and opened to the North Loch, armed with ther fyre-lockes and

[1] Some ruins of these works may be yet seen at the spot pointed out.

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swords, and quyetly begane to dryve the sheep into the castle, which the sentries within the trenches seing (it being now brocken day) they fyred upon them, which made all the souldiers take the allarume and run presently to ther armes, who observeing the garriesone souldiers dryveing away the sheep, they brocke furth of ther workes without command or orders, to purchase thir sheep for themselves, being unwilling ther enemies should have them at soe cheape a rate, and now begane a very notable skirmish; for both parties haveing fyred upon others, they fell to it with ther swords, haveing neither tyme nor opportunity to recharge, being soe eager to obtaine this purchase, the one to recover, and the other to carry off what they had in possessione; it was with the paines, but not the hazard to behold the order of this disorderly combate, which was foughten without either word or signe to distinguish the one partie from the other, often killing and wounding they knew not whom, freind or foe, but as they drave the sheep to or from the castle, which was all the tocken or marke they had to distinguish ther freinds from ther enemies. What the number of either side might be att the beginning was uncertane; for the contest once being begune,

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ther came assistance to both sydes, which occasioned the greater slaughter, albeit neither the castle nor yet the trenches fyred one shott dureing all the tyme of this bickering, nor indeed durst they, ther oune men (except when they wer mingled togither) being allwayes betwext them and the enemie. At lenth, eftir ane hours debeat, in which space ther was upward of fourtieth left dead upon the place, besyde many that was wounded on both sydes, the castle souldiers, as it would appear, being more quick and expert in dryveing, carryed into the castle neer threttieth sheep, for all the oppositione they mett with. Within some few houres thereftir ther was a parlie beatten, untill both sydes carryed off ther dead for buriall. And thus ended the sheepes skirmish, with the losse of soe many men.

As for the shotts from the castle which I spocké of, the first was not only tragicall, but farre from the expectatione of the best cannoniers, that the lyke could have happened, considering that then as now the castle had noe laigh lying gunnes whereby to shoot, as it wer by the

of the earth, in a direct lyne, to enter the ports where through the cannon played that was upon the batterie in the Castle-Hill; but

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they found to ther losse the contrary, by this remarkeable accident. One morning, two cheif cannoneirs belonging to that batterie I last spocke off, being both strangers, whom the covenanters brought from beyond seas to serve in this warre; and that morning out of ane humour played ther gunnes very hard to small effect, most of the shotts being very high. The commander of the batterie comeing in at the tyme, either in earnest or in jeast, told them that they had not only missed the castle, but the wholl rock. Whereupon thir strangers conceaveing ther reputatione concerned, they assured the commander they would make amends presently by a notable shott, desyreing to look through the [embrasure] to see a great cannon that stood upon the high half-moon directly above the second gaitt of the castle. Her they should obleidge themselves to dismount with the first shot, under the penalty of a moneth's pay. The major told them he was content to hold the wager for the double if they pleased. Wherupon the cannoneires begane to levill and stell one of ther best gunnes (the major standing hard by, and myself in his hand, being then about the age of eight years) to take their measures right, haveing now both ther credite and ther money at the stake, for

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ther lyves they litle thought they wer in any hazard at this tyme; when, behold, as both ther heads was lying doune upon the butt end of the cannon to take ther marke right, ther comes a shott from the castle, which passing through the [embrasure] along the syde of the cannon they wer leining on, and by a fall stroake carries them both off, to the great amazement of the major and all that was upon the batterie. The bodies of thir two unfortunate cannoneires was all chattered in pieces, and ther intralles carryed as high as the houses topes, where you might have seen some weekes thereftir ther puddings winde about the chimnayes. The same bullet lighting upon a stone gavill that was behind the batterie, strooke out of it a whinnie stone, a slice whereof lighted upon the major's right cheek, and wounded him a litle, which blooding extremely, made both himself and the standers-by imagine the wound was greater then it was. Soe much of the poor cannoneires bodies as could be gathered togither was decently buryed.

The other shott had much more of providence in it, and happened upon this occasione. Major Somervill had invited most of the principal officers of the two regiments to dyne with him at his oune quarters, then in the Castle-Hill. Whil

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they wer sitting at dinner, ther comes a cannon-shott from the castle, which entering in at the broad syde of the house, passing alongs the kitchen-brace, strykes a young woman that was flaiming a leg of veal, in the bone, and takes away a great part of the fleshy parts of both her thighes and hippes, neer by the watter-port, which was weill missed, for eftirward she was marryed to one Kirk, and brought forth to him severall children. Her eldest sone, many years thereftir, marryed one George Bannantyne's sister, and Bellarnie, very rich, was choysen theasaurer to Heriot's Hospitall in *anno* 1682. She herself lived to a great age. The bullet that hurt this young woman passed through the hall, and then went out at the foir stair. The poor woman, upon the receaveing of this shott, gave a hydeous ery, which made all the officers start quickly from the table, (haveing with that noyse heard the report of the cannon,) and come to the kitchen, where they beheld this woman wallowing in her blood, whom they supposed to be roaring out her last breath, and knowing where she was strucken, being then lying on her back, whereon she had fallen upon the receaveing of that wound. The officers finding at lenth she was not lyke to expyre, as they expected, they pre-

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sently sent for two chyrurgeons, who being come, caused her to be laid upon a table with her bodie doune, haveing observed the wound was upon her back parts. When the chyrurgeons was washing away the blood, and panseing this wound, which they fand not to be mortall, nor to make the partie a crippell, the ankle and hip bones being untouched; the roguish officers then made a sport of this poor woman's misfortune, by telling the chirurgeons her best part was preserved; and without being farder concerned went again to dinner; but they wer necessitat to fetch ther oune meat from the kitchen, nether durst one of the household servants enter within the kitchen door for eight dayes thereftir.

Much of the fyreing of gunnes that was upon both sydes at the beginning of this seidge was now forborne. Generall Rivan did it upon the account of spareing his ammunitione, and the besiegers, because they wer now busie about ther myndes, haveing found by ane expensive experience ther was no prevailling by batterie. Whill the mynes was prepareing, Major Somervill, with a partie of commanded men, was sent by the committie of estates to bring over to Edinburgh the old constable of Dundie, the grandfather of the late earle, a worthy gentleman, of ane ho-

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nourable and ancient familie, heretable bearers of the royall standart in tyme of warre, was, by reasone of his great age, (being now neer eighteth,) could hurt them noe farder then by his good wishes and prayers for his royall master. Soe soon as Somervill had receaved his orders, he marches with the partie to Dundie, and there leaves most of them, takeing along with himself to the gentleman's house, which was hard by, only some officers and a few souldiers. His comeing was knoune to the constable, who had his intelligence from Edinburgh, and might have shifted for himself long before ther arryveall, if his great age and the fear to losse his estate had not hindered. Soe soon as he heard the partie was neer, he caused some of his relationes receave them courteously at the outter gaitt, and bring them up, where he himself attended them in the hall. Eftir the ordinar salutationes, he was pleased to wellcome them very kyndelie to his house, especially the commander, whose father and grandfather he had knoune very weill, and told him soe much, and withall that he hoped he would doe nothing unworthie that noble familie he was descended off and did now represent. Major Somervill first thanked him very heartilly for ther kynde receptione and good en-

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tertainement, and then for the obleidgeing character he was pleased to give of him and his mean familie, which sould be ever ready to serve him and his to the outmost of his power. These complements being over, Somervill courteously takes by the constable and shews him his warrand, which he receaves, reads, and then delyvers it back again, only saying he could have wished from his soull that the nobilitie and gentrie of Scotland had been better advysed then to have taken up armes against ther native prince, in the behalf of another natione; and that eftir his majesty had given them all possible satisfaction as to ther oune securitie, both in the church and in the state, and he doubted not but the present and future generationes might smart for ther faults. To which this gentleman answeared, he was not upon the secrets of state, but he hoped these that he now served meaned, as they had declared themselves to the world, that their present undertakeings was for the securitie of the protestant religione, the honour and safety of his majesties persone, and nothing derogatory from his just authoritie. Whereat the constable smylled, laying his hand upon this gentleman's shoulder, saying, "Honour and safetie? You are a man of noe great age, and may see the con-

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trary. So they began with his grandmother, and the end was tragicall; and they are blind that sees not the same spirit of rebellione workeing in this generatione."—"For my part," sayes the gentleman, "I took the covenant with all respect and loyaltie unto the king, which was my reall meaning; and if I had in the least understood it otherwayes, I had never taken it nor drawen a sword in the quarrell." By this tyme dinner was served up, where they eat and drank plentifully. The old constable being very cheerfull and hearty, to make his guests mirry eftir dinner. All things being fitted for him, he takes leave of his familie, commanding them to make no noyse at his parting, and setts foirward on his way, which the gentleman who commanded the partie (out of respect to his worthy prisoner) had soe ordered, that the soldiers which was left in Dundie, should meet him a good distance from the toune, to prevent the gazeing of the people, which they wer accustomed to doe upon such occasiones. He passed the water some mylles above the toune of Dundie, and by easie journeyes came to Edinburgh, where this gentleman delyvered up his prisoner, who conceaved himself much obleidged to the commander for his courteous carriage to him at first, and upon his

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journey, that at the tyme, and whill he lived, he had a great veneratione for his personall worthe.

Upon this gentleman's returne, the mynes and all other things necessary thereto was ready for springing; and now it was all men's expectatione what officer might either fall by the dyce, or be appoynted by the generall to command these souldiers that wer to storme the castle. Upon the opening of the breach the night preceeding this actione, Collonell Blair's regiment had the guaird, and was not to be releaved untill the insueing; for that custome they observed for the souldiers greater securitie in entering and removing from the trenches. Three houres before day the generall calles a counsell of warre, wherein mett some of the committie of estates by appoyntment, and it's a wonder ther was not some of the commissione of the church there too, for it was ordinary for them to have ther finger in the pye, albeit they exclamed against the bishops for medleing in state affaires; and yet it's a knoune truth, that nether the affaires of state nor warre could be advysed nor mannadged without ther concurrance, which both the king and Duke of Hamiltone found to ther cost, but I proceed. The counsell of warre haveing spocken at lenth to this intended actione, found the hazard cer-

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tane, and ther hopes but small to carry the castle by assault, unlesse it wer the great fortune of these that stormed to enter the second and third gaitt of the castle with the garrisone souldiers, as they might be retireing from the Spurre and ther other out-workes upon the springing of the mynes. But this proved a vaine imaginatione. They had to doe with a more skillfull and vigilent commander, then to be soe surprized in the very tyme of actione, as we shall hear anon.

When the counsell of warre had spent much tyme in speaking to the order that should be observed in giving the assault, they wer forced in the end to leave it to the conduct and prudence of him that should command the forces appoynted for that end, seing many things might occurre and fall out in the tyme of actione, that the expertest officers in the world could neither foirsee nor prevent by precautione. Therefore the counsell only concluded upon the tyme the myne should be sprung, and upon the number which should be imployed, who was to be drawn out of the two regiments, and commanded by two principall officers; and now it only remained what these officers should be, each man holding his peace to see whom the generall should

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pitch upon. When on a sudden Collonell Blair starts and sayes, If it please your excellence, it's my opinione that it's fitt and propper the gentleman that commands the batterie next to the mynes should have the leading of the partie that is appoynted for to storme the castle. This discourse was beyond all the counsell's expectatione; knowing the humor of the man, they fancyed when he rose up to speak, it had been to have craved from the generall and counsell the honour of that command himself, but now by his discourse finding the contrary, severall of the counsell could not refraine from smylleing; and the officers drew doune ther hattes at the confidence of the man, knowing that it had been propper and fitt for him to have craved that command, seing himself and his regiment was then and at the tyme upon the guaird. Especially seing at the first laying doune of the seidge before the castle, he had vented many big words in the hearing of all the officers, soe that they expected great things from him when it should come to actione: But the generall was pleased to take him off handsomely, by telling the counsell Collonell Blair had pitched upon a very able and sufficient officer, that understood both his honour and duety soe weill, as he needed but

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few directiones from them. Upon this Major Somervill ryses up, and first thankes the generall for haveing soe favourable ane opinione of him, of which he was altogither unworthie; then turneing to the counsell, he told them, his excellence, ther lordships, and the officers there present, could not have putt a greater honour upon him then in giveing him that command, wherein he hoped, through God's assistance, to acquitt himself to ther satisfactione, and that both as a souldier and a gentleman. Then he craved of the generall that he might have one of his oune captaines to lead the reserve, and instantly pitched upon Captain Waddell, the Laird of Langsyde, a souldier of conduct and resolutione. Next he craved of the generall, in the hearing of the generall Attaly, and these officers that commanded the other batteries, that all fyreing of gunnes and small shott from the batteries and trenches might be forborne dureing the tyme he was giveing the assault, otherwayes his partie might receave as much losse from ther freinds as from the enemie; and, lastly, he requyred that ther might be fourtieth pioneers, with shovelles and mattockes, appoynted to march along with him, whatever use ther might be for them in the tyme of actione. These desyres

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both the generall and counsell thought very reasonable, therefore they granted them, and thereftir rose. Haveing ordered the officers to draw out the commanded men from the two regiments, which consisted of upward of two thousand men, which was quickly done and brought togither and delyvered to the gentleman that was to command them, being two hundered and fyftieth choysen men, picked out for the purpose, which being delyvered to Major Somervill somewhat before day, he marches them as quietly as was possible to the trenches, and there puts them in two parties, giveing the one to Captaine Waddell, the other he leads himself. Waddell he commands not to stirre from the trenches untill he saw him and his wholl partie passed the breach, and then he should lead on his men for a reserve, to be ready as occasione should offer. He provyded likewayes a duzone of ledders, of ten or twelve steps high, to be ready at hand, whatever use there might be for them at the breach, or within it; last of all, he orders his cannonieres to have all the cannons upon the batterie loaden, and to pour them in the breach immediatly upon springing of the myne; but that they should not shoot one shot aftir untill they saw the event of the assault. Thus haveing provy-

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ded for all accidents, as farre as the witt of man could reach upon such ane occasione, he wrote only sex lynes to his wife, (who, poor lady, being then att Gillmertoune with her sex children, knew nothing of the great hazard her husband was shortly to be in,) and then quyetly attended the springing of the myne, it being neer the breake of day. But now, with submissione to ther better judgement and supposed great experience, this actione was as foolish ane enterpryze as could be attempted by rationall men, and so acknowledged by themselves when it was over, with the losse of soe many stout men, that by this gave evidence what they would have done if they had been commanded to any action that was but possible for men to performe, according to the methode and forme they then observed. I could never learne upon what account this was done, unlesse it was to please a number of brain-sick foolles and wyfes within the toune of Edinburgh.

About ane houre or thereby before the springing of the myne, the sentinalls upon the Spurre had given notice to the corporalls that they heard ane unusuall noyse within the trenches. This they acquaint the commander of the out-guard with, and he againe the captaine of the main-

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guard, who gave present notice thereof to Generall Rivan, whereupon he came quickly to the place, and eftir a litle listening, presently understood the besiedgers had some great designe in hand, and that it could be noe other then the fyreing of ther mynes, therefore he caused instantly remove sex peace of cannon that stood upon the Spurre, and ordered all the sentries and out-guaird, upon the peep of day, to transport themselves within the second gaitt, and there attend his farder orders. This one directione of ane expert governour frustrates the great expectatione and hope of the covenanters. But they knew not soe much untill it was too late. Generall Rivan haveing seen his commands execute, and given some other orders, went up to the gaitt house, above the third gaitt of the castle, and there attended untill he saw what his enemies would attempt. Ther passed but a few minutes, and his out-guards scarce entered within the second gaitt of the castle, when, eftir a terrible and fearfull clapt, he saw the Spurre first in a flame, and then heard a wholl peall of gunnes, besyde small shott, poured in upon the fyre. This had been amazeing enough to ane unskillfull and fearfull commander, but to him it was nothing strange, haveing had often experience of

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the lyke in Germanie, and other places where he had served in the warres. Noe sooner was the myne sprung, (which wrought its effect by blowing up a great part of the Spurre south-east wall, and carryed it neer by the North Loch,) but immediately Major Somervill with his commanded men made to the breach, whill the smoak and dust was yet flyeing in it, thereby to preserve themselves as much as possible from the enemies small shott, which was now comeing thick from the foir battlements, and the gate-house of the castle upon the breach, which all thought it was spatious enough to admitt ten or twelve men in front, yet the earth wherewith the Spurre wall had been backed, stood up neer two fathomes high, which hindered the souldiers speedy entry, thereby losseing the opportunity of being sooner at the second gaitt, to have entered with the enemie as was intended and hoped by those whom they served; however, the ledders being presently clapt to the earth, both officers and souldiers entered in haste, thinking to ingadge the enemie before they gott off the Spurre, but they were gone sometyme before; and now thir assaulters being upon plain ground, still advanceing to the second gate (which then

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was at a great distance from the first, and had noe draw-bridge to interrupt or hinder ther approach to it,) in hopes to have entered the same with the castle souldiers, but in vaine; they wer gone and the gaitt fast shutt. And now this resolute company wer lyke sillie myce in a trapt, felled from all the foir quarters of the castle, but mostly from the gaitt-house, never a shour of musquets comeing from thence but it laid sex or seven of them dead, which ther commander observeing to his sad regrate, but could not remedy it. His men for the most part wer still fyreing at the walles, litle of the enemies bodies being seen by them, unlesse it was at that very instant they themselves was giveing ther fyre upon the assaulters, who being now advanced neer the second gaitt found it shutt, and not one man of the enemie dead or alyve to be seen within all the out-workes to revenge themselves upon now; then they believed they wer all lost men, seing they wer at the mercie of the enemies small shott. Somervill observeing the great slaughter of his souldiers, found he was acting the part of a mad man soe to expose himself and soe many brave men openly to his enemies shot, whom he could not reach; in a great passione he breakes a halbert and fyres a pistoll upon the se-

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cond gaitt, and then retreates his men (two parts of whom by this tyme being killed) to a thinne stone dyke that crossed the breadth of the Spurre. Here he shelters the small remaines of his partie, and resolves not to stirre from that untill he had orders from the generall's oune mouth.

Whill he was in this conditione, and his men still fyreing, notwithstanding of the death of most of ther comerades, Generall Rivan, ther generous enemie, pittyeing ther desperate conditione, cryes out alloud, "Somervill, Somervill," (for this gentleman was of his excellencies particular acquaintance,) "you have exposed yourself and souldiers into a certane hazard in a desperate attempt, for which my old comerade, your generall, is to blame; reteire, reteire, under the favour of my shott, I have noe pleasure in the fall of soe gallant men." This generous offer of Rivanes, Somervill did not or would not hear, but keeped his few men still at service, haveing now some shelter by the crosse dyke under which he had lodged himself and his souldiers.

Captain Waddell, who led the reserve, had advanced to the breach, immediatly upon the last man's entering of the first partie, when unhappily, at one and the same instant (being on the

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tope of a ledder) he was shott by a musquet-ball through the hippes, and with a cannon bullet, which, lighting upon some part of the earth whereto the ledder leaned, overturned him and it both to the ground, whereby, besyde his wound, he was much bruized by the fall. This accident haveing befallen the captaine, with the death of sex souldiers slain by the same cannone shott, soe discouraged the rest, that not one of them for the remaineing officers would enter the breach, but clapt under the standing part of the Spurre wall for shelter. Somervill, by this tyme, had few of his men alyve, and himself shott through the left shoulder by a musquet-ball, the same bullett stroke a handsome and stout youth (one of his souldiers, formerly a baxter to his trade) in the foirhead, as he was upon his knee fyreing his musquet behinde this gentleman. Being felled by the shott he falles. The major supposeing him to be killed, commanded Alexander King, then his servant, to draw him out of the enemies sight, who upon the fall of any of them used to throw up ther caps and give a great shout. As Alexander King took this young man by the foot to draw him off, he raises himself up, and wypeing the blood from his eyes, cryes out, " If my major be weill, I am weill,"

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and then takes his musquet, and fyred sex tymes eftir this. However, the third day eftir he came off he dyed (the skull of his foirhead being brocken) to the great regrate of his officers, who wer resolved to have preferred him to a pair of culloures if he had lived.

Generall Leslie, who all this tyme remained within the batterie to observe the behaviour of the officers and souldiers in this actione, was now confirmed in his former opinione, upon the sight of soe many men's being knocked doune, that it was but the losse of men's lyves to attempt the takeing of the castle by storme, therfore he sends a gentleman to command them off, which he did. But the major told him, "I was ordered here by the generalle's oune mouth, and by the same I will be re-commanded." Of this the generall being informed, he comes to the breach, and, lifting up his head somewhat above the ground, cryes out alloud, "Major Somervill, I command you off." Wherupon this gentleman, now all covered with blood, sweat, and dust, drawes out his few men from behind the stone dyke where he had lodged his party, and takeing the benefite of the intervall betwext the shoures of muskets from the gaitt house, he quickly retreates his men to the breach, out of which he

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carryes (of one hundered and twentieth and fyve souldiers, besydes officers and pioneires,) only threttieth and three men and himself, most of these being wounded, the rest was left dead upon the place. Being now come to the batterie, by the losse of much blood he fainted. Therfore ther was a wand-bed brought to transport him to his chamber in the Lane-Markett, in that stone lodgeing now belonging to Prestoune Provost Dick,[1] and other proprietars. It was strange to behold the confluence of all sorts of people that came from every quarter of the cittie to see this gentleman as the souldiers was carrying him doune the way; to have heard this giddy and unstable multitude exclameing against his sacred majestie, his principall officers of state then of the king's partie, and Generall Rivane, to whom they imputed all this slaughter, would have vexed any loyall heart, seing it was knoune both to God and man that ther oune factious nobilitie, ungrate gentry, turbulent and fanatick ministry

[1] The ancestor of the Dicks of Prestonfield, now baronets. This gentleman was so wealthy as to lend £20,000 sterling, in specie, to the estates, to furnish out their army for England. He afterwards advanced large sums to Charles II., and being seized and carried prisoner to the Tower of London, he died there after a rigorous confinement.

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of our church was only guilty of and to be accountable for all this blood at God's tribunall. But as this gentleman upon this occasione receaved the loud acclamationes of praise and thanks for hazarding soe freely his life in the pretended good cause, soe within a few years he loses ther airie applauses, and the countenance of his ungrate masters, for the misfortune of ane actione, which nether his foirsight, valour, nor conduct could prevent.

Soe soon as he was brought to his chamber, the wholl magistrats of Edinburgh came to visit him, bringing with them two of ther principall chirurgeons for to paunse his wound, which they did in ther presence, as the cure was perfyted upon the good tounes charges, besydes the gratuitie of ane hundered pounds sterling presented him by the Lord Provost, and the makeing him burges of ther burgh of Edinburgh, soe zealous wer they to encourage military men to act against ther native prince, albeit at that tyme it was not soe understood by them. Some few hours eftir the drawing of ther forces from the Spurre, a parlie being beatten, the covenanters had libertie to bring off ther dead, all of whom, notwithstanding of ther number, was buryed with the confluence

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of many pretenders to pietie, the ministers the next sabbath perswaded the people they dyed martyres for the protestant religione. Soe farre wer they deluded with ther oune error, as to confyne the protestant religione and its preservatione to ther great idoll, the Covenant, that supposed strong bullwarke of the presbyterean governement.

Our committie of estates eftir this slaughter, resolves to blocke up the castle, that noe provisione goeing in by stealth to them, they might be necessitat to a surrender for want of meat, which indeed was the wysest course; for shortly thereftir it did ther business; for Generall Rivan haveing been now somewhat more then three monethes beseidged, his provisione became scant, his watter failled, because of the frequent shooting from and about the castle, many of his souldiers was dead, and most or all of these alyve wer sick of the scurvy, by frequent eating of salt meates, soe that he had scarce men to mount the guairds and stand sentinalls upon the walles. Therefore he calles a counsell of warre of these few officers that was with him, to advyse what was fitt to be done in this extremitie, all of whom agreed with him, that, seing his majestie could

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have noe intelligence of ther sad conditione, nor was at present in a conditione to raise the seige in tyme, it was best to render the castle upon as honourable termes as they could make, seing it was not possible for them to hold it long; and the enemie will possesse themselves of the house and walles when they wer all dead. A surrender being resolved upon, a whyte flag was hung out, which Generall Leslie and the committie of estates being informed off, they appoynt two of ther oune number, with Major Somervill, (who was now cured of his wound) to wait upon Generall Rivan and know his pleasure; who, comeing to the second gaitt, (for from the blowing up of the myne, the beseidged had quytt the Spurre and all ther other out-workes, now uselesse, as formerly it had been but a trouble for them to keep,) they wer lett in, and soe went on to the third, where Generall Rivan and Captain Scrimzore attended ther comeing. Eftir courtly salutationes, Rivan directing his speech to Major Somervill, as being the persone he knew, he told him they wer now mett in a more freindly manner then some weeks hence they wer lyke to have been, if stone walles had not hindered ther neerer approach; then enquyreing of Leslie's health, he said they wer wont to serve one mas-

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ter;[1] and now he was heartily sorry for the unhappy difference that had devyded them, for albeit he was a souldier by professione, and lived by his sword, yet he was soe good a countreyman as to wish peace att home and warres abroad. This gentleman told Rivan his excellency was in the right, peace in ther oune countrey was much to be desyred, and he hoped ere long ther should be a good understanding betwext his majestie and his subjects of both kingdomes. "By my faith," sayes Rivan, "they are not in the way soe long as they keep up armes against the king, and forces his garrisones and me his commissionat officer in this place. But, sir, your superiors are to answear for that; the businesse at present is the surrender of this house to the states of Scotland, upon such termes as is fitt for them to give and me to receave; haveing been intrusted with the keeping of it by his majestie." The gentleman replyed, he doubted not but the states of Scotland understood with whom they had to doe, and would grant such conditiones as in honour his excellence might accept, without wronging his trust or fidelitie to the king. "Nay,"

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[1] Gustavus Adolphus.

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sayes Rivan, " if I thought the surrender should bring in questione my loyaltie (poynting to the castle) I would leave my bones there." This discourse and severall others haveing past, whill they satt in the porter's lodge within the third gaitt, for Generall Rivan mynded not by takeing them further for a complement to discovere the sad conditione the garrisone was in, but upon the contrary, by makeing them drinke heartily he will needs perswad them he wanted not store of provisione to keep out for a long seasone, but that it was his majestie's commands and service that requyred his presence elsewhere that made him quitt that strong-hold. These gentlemen of the committie and Somervill understood Rivane's policie in this, but presumed not to contradict him, albeit they knew it was only the want of watter and other necessaries that made Rivan surrender the castle.

The gentlemen of the committie and Somervill haveing taken ther leaves, they gave ane account to the committie of estates of Generall Rivan's desyre to enter upon a treaty of surrender. Whereupon the next day they appoynted two lords and as many gentlemen of ther number, with Colonell Lindsay and Blair, to enter in

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capitulatione anent the giveing up of the Castle of Edinburgh, and the place to be at his appoyntment. Rivan refuises to appoynt any place, but is content to speak with these commissioned upon the Castle-hill, mid-way betwext the Castle-hill and the batterie; where being mett, he exhibites in writt sex articles as conditiones whereupon he was willing to surrender. The first was, that the castle might remaine ane garrisone (but with its ordinary keepers) for ane moneth eftir the surrender, untill his majestie disposed thereof according to his pleasure. Secondly, That all the honours of the croune[1] might continue where they wer, without being transported to any where else, but by his majestie's speciall command. Thirdly, That twelve piece of cannon, such as he should pitch upon, with the wholl armes and ammunitione, bag and baggadge in the castle, might be removed with them. Fourthly, That they should martch out with fleeing cullours, drummes beatting, and bullets in ther mouth. Fyfthly, That they and ther wholl traine should be transported by sea to any part of England, under the king's command.

[1] The regalia, then deposited in Edinburgh Castle.

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Sexthly, That the castle should remaine in ther possessione with free commerse betwext it and the toune untill the shippes wer fitted, and in the road for ther transportatione. The first of these articles was rejected as not consisting with the safety of the toune and the peace of the countrey, seing in that tyme the castle might be victualled and garrisoned of new, and soe they should be put to the expenses and trouble of another seidge. For the second article, they conceaved the estates of Scotland was so farre concerned in preserveing the ancient monuments of the croune, that they would not remove them from the place of ther ordinary keeping but upon imminent danger, therefore that was not much to be stood upon. The third article they partly granted and partly refuised, conceaveing it stood not with the honour of the natione that any of the cannon belonging to the castle should be carried to England; but for what cannon they brought alongst with them they wer willing to returne them. For the fourth article, they declared they should have made noe ceremony to have granted the same, but the toune of Edinburgh, through which they wer to martch and bring ther cannon, was soe incensed because of

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the losse of many of ther inhabitants, that it would be impossible (if the garrisone matched in that order) to preserve them from the fury of the people. To the fyfth and sexth articles they agreed with this conditione, that they should have the second gaitt of the castle in ther keeping. This they craved, upon the account that noe more provisione should goe into the castle then what might serve them from day to day untill the surrender. It was likewayes agreed, eftir some contending, that they should have as many armes as the souldiers could carry, with ammunitione conforme, and ther wholl bag and bagadge, and come furth with ther cullours fleeing. These articles wer subscryved by Generall Leslie, the Lords Louthian, Lindsay, Ballmerenoe, Burlie, and Durie, for the covenanters; Generall Rivan, Captaine Scrimzore, and two other officers, whose names I doe not remember. Thus the Castle of Edinburgh, eftir fyve monthes seidge, the losse of more then ane thousand men, women, and children, killed by casuall shott, (much against the intentione and will of the beseidged) the expenses of ane thousand shott of cannon, besyde the charges of myneing, was at lenth rendered to the covenanters with litle losse

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to the garrisone, but what they sustained by thirst and eating of salt meates, which gave them the scurvy, whereof many of them dyed.

Two shippes being fitted and in the road for ther transportatione, Generall Rivan, the day before his removeall, delyvered up the keyes of the castle to Generall Lesselie, and he intrusted them with the keeping of the castle to Major Somervill, untill a governour should be appoynted by the committie of estates. That same day Generall Rivan was pleased to invite Lesselie, with several noblemen, and all the officers of the two regiments, to dyne with him in the castle. Lesselie apprehending ther might be a great throng-ing of the people out of curiosity to see Generall Rivan, and to know what conditione the castle was in, commanded Somervill to order his inferior officers to keep the gaitt straitly, and suffer non to enter but these invited, ther attendance, and persones of account. Somervill haveing receaved this command, orders the serjeant that keeped the outter gaitt that he should acquaint him with the names and qualities of the persones that desyred to enter, before he had admitted them within the gaitt. The serjeant, in obedience to this command, when any gentleman came, sent up ther names to the major, who

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presently ordered ther entry. Amongst others that thronged to be within the castle, ther was one Captaine Crawfuird, that had served under Generall Rivan in Germany, who fancied he was a priviledged persone, and might enter at his pleasure, came to the gaitt, and rapped somewhat roundly. The souldiers reproved him, and told him he could not enter untill they had acquainted ther major with his name and qualitie. "Your major," sayes this cholerick captaine, "is a jam future,[1] and knowes nothing of a souldier or a gentleman; and if he wer without these gaittes and from his guaird, I would tell him he were a cullzeone to the boot." Haveing said this he begane to march off. Then upon the very instant the major comes, and by the officious soldiers is informed of all this discourse. Wherupon he issues furth and comes up to my gentleman before he had gone many paces from the gaitt, and takes him by the hand, saying, "Sir, you must allow me to accompany you a litle way, and then you shall know more of my mynde." The captaine being conscious of his own miscarriage, in a calmer mood told him he would waitt

[1] The reader will readily excuse my leaving this phrase in the obscurity of Mr Somervill's authority.

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upon him where he pleased, and so hand in hand they went doune the south syde of the Castle-hill, and up to the back of the Gray Frier church, then a spatious green to the toune wall, but now devyded from the church-yard by a cross-dyke. Being come to this place, Major Somervill, upon the drawing of his sword, sayes, "I am now without the castle gaitt, and from my souldiers, draw quickly, and make good your words." The captaine, when he should have put himself in a posture of defence, pulles off his hatt and craves him pardone, if he had uttered any words in passione to his prejudice, for which he was heartily sorry, and would make him what satisfactione he pleased, but he beleived his souldiers had added much to what had escaped him unadvisedlie. Somervill did not expect this submissione eftir soe big words, therefore he only pattes him upon the breast with his left hand, and sayes, "You have neither the discratione of a gentleman, nor the courage of a souldier; gett you gone for a dastardly fooll, fitt only for Bedlame;" and with this he leaves the captaine and returnes to the castle, where upon the way he meetes Mackculloe, one of his oune captaines, (the same gentleman that many years thereftir, being then preferred to a major, was execute at the crosse of

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Edinburgh, for joyneing with the rebelles att Pentlane-hilles in *anno* 1666,[1]) that had the guaird within the castle that day, who, being informed by the serjeant and souldiers at the castle-gaitt what had passed betwext ther major and one Captaine Craufuird, and which way they wer gone, he, with other two officers, upon this informatione, had followed to know the event of this quarrell. When they mett him at the foot of the Castle-wynde returneing to them, he impartes what had passed betwext Crawfuird and himself, whereat they marvelled much at the imprudence and baseness of the man. By this tyme all the guests that was invited wer entered within the castle, and the gaittes wer now shutt.

It's noe part of my businesse to descryve the order of this feast. Thers noe doubt, considering the qualitie of the giver and receavers, the intertainement was great, and they dranke liber-

[1] Wodrow, among those who were condemned and executed for high treason, after the ill-concerted insurrection of the Cameronians at Pentland-Hills, mentions Major John M'Culloch, "a reverend old gentleman," who, as the same author elsewhere informs us, was a person of "good parts and great piety. He never had freedom to conform to prelacy, and suffered considerably for his conscientious with-drawing from the church."—*History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. I. p. 256, 257.

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ally, most of them being souldiers.[1] Major Somervill being carefull to see every thing in order, wherein he was concerned as present keeper of the castle, was somewhat late in comeing to the great hall where the feast was kept, for to have his libertie (whatever occasione ther might be for his removeing, upon the account of his charge,) he places himself at the foot of the table, directly opposite to the two generalles that satt at the head thereof. Eftir dinner, as the healthes was goeing rounde, Generall Rivan bringes his sword with the scabbard out from the hingings, and with the hilt foirmost, shootes it doune the table, saying, "Somervill, as a tocken of my respectes, I conferre this my sword upon you, as being the officer whom I observed to be most active and diligent in your charge dureing the seidge. But I pray you be not soe

[1] General Ruthven was as much celebrated in the wars of Bacchus as of Mars. Munro mentions that, after the great battle of Leipsic, he having entered the hall where Gustavus Adolphus and the Duke of Saxony were carousing, "being seene by his majesty, I was presently kindely embraced by houlding his arme over my shoulder: wishing I could bear as much drinke as old Generall Major Ruthven, that I might helpe his majesty to make his guests merry."—Monro's *Expedition*, London 1637, p. 75.

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ungrate as a comerade of myne oune was on whom I bestowed the lyke courtesie, and I was the first man against whom he drew it." Somervill conceaveing himself much honoured before soe many noble and worthy guestes, receaved this gift of Rivane's with much respect and thankfullnesse, acknowledgeing himself infinitely obleidged to his excellence for that tocken of his kyndenesse, and the favourable opinione he had of his mean performances, which, as they tended to the will and obedience of these he now served, soe should they ever be with much regaird and gratitude towards his excellence, and that at what tyme soever he should be pleased to lay his commands upon him as his most obleidged servant, against whom he should never draw that sword nor any other but upon a publict account, and that in the way of honour, which he knew the generositie of his soull would easily pardone, as proceeding from the commands of his superiores, whom in duety and conscience, as the caice was now staited, he was obleidged to obey. "Your exceptiones," sayes Rivane, "I admit off, and in tocken drinkes my services to you," which being receaved by Somervill with a low reverence, the complement ceassed.

The next morning the castle garrisone, with

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ther armes, bagadge, and sex piece of cannon, martched out of the castle without touke of drum, and the cullours, (but fleeing cullours)[1] for fear of allarumeing the toune, the rascalitie whereof wer become soe mad, that no authoritie of ther magistrats could keep them in peace; wherefor a regiment of foot was appoynted to guaird the garrisone doune to Newhaven, and see them shipped. About ten a clock Generall Rivan, Captain Scrimzor, with severall other officers belonging to the garrisone, came furth of the castle, and were accompanyed with severall noblemen and gentlemen of the committie of estates, without whom (notwithstanding they lykewayes had a regiment of foot for ther guaird,) they could not have gone safely through the toune, for the distracted multitude, whose hands being tyed up, for fear of these noblemen that accompanyed them, (whom they reverenced as the grand patriots of ther religione and libertie,) they forboor the throwing of stones or what comes readyest at hand, as ther custome is when they convocate in a tumultuous way for a mischeif, as they intended at this tyme; but finding

[1] *i. e.* without displayed colours.

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a restrictione upon ther hands, because of these noblemen, and the great guaird of souldiers, they loused ther accursed tongues against Generall Rivan, belscheing out the malice of ther enraged hearts in many imprecationes and curses against this great commander, by calling him malignant and traitor to his countrey, and murderer of the people and saints of God, which albeit he had escaped the hands of men, yet they hoped the justice of God should send him with his accomplices to the bottom of the sea.[1] These,

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[1] The people were inflamed against Ruthven, not only by the loss they had sustained in the siege, but by the character given of him in the Vox Borealis and similar pamphlets.

"The king seemed displeased, and thereupon placed Generall Rothven governor of the Castle of Edinburgh. And now he, haveing gotten that by a trick, which they never could have gotten by strength, keeps a couple of false knaves to laugh at the lords, a foole and a fidler; and when he and they are almost drunke, then they goe to singing of Scots jigges, in a jearing manner, at the covenanters, for surrendering up their castles. The fidler he flings out his heels, and dances, and sings,

> "Put up thy dagger, Jamie,
> And all things shall be mended;
> Bishops shall fall, no, not at all,
> When the parliament is ended.

Then the fool, he flirts out his folly; and whilst the fidler plays, he sings,

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and many other scurrylous and base speeches was clamoured out upon the High-street, not only by the vulgar, but by persones of higher degree, from whose birth and breeding rationally might have been expected better manners and much more civillitie to a persone of soe great honour as Generall Rivane was. But what will not ane inraged multitude, intoxicate with a blind zeall, both utter and act in ther fury upon such occasiones as this. Rivan, as unconcerned with what he heard, martched doune the street with the same grace as if he had been upon the head of his armie, disdaineing soe much as to cast an eye upon his revyllers, untill he came to New-haven, where he civilly takes his leave of the no-

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" Which never was intended,
But onely for to flam thee:
We have gotten the game,
We'll keep the same,
Put by thy dagger, Jamie.

The devill a dagger (quoth Jamie) shall be put up by me; nor, I believe, by any man in the kingdom, untill the parliament be ended, and have confirmed the putting down of bishops: we'll be no longer flim-flamb'd by any of them. And for this trick, we will have that false papisticall traytor, Rothven, and all his knaveries, out of the castle; or else we will make it too hot for him to hold it."—*Harleian Miscellany*, London 1809, vol. III. p. 241.

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blemen, gentlemen, and officers that had accompanyed him, giveing twentieth pounds sterling as ane gratuity to the souldiers that guairded him to the boat wherein he entered. Being come aboord the vessel appoynted for his transportatione, the wind blowing fair, they sett saill for England, where I leave him commanding one of the king's armies with successe.[1]

Some eight dayes eftir Rivane was gone, the castle being still in Somervill's keeping, ther happened to him ane accident which occasioned much discourse at the time and eftirward, to his honour and advantage. Captaine Craufuird, the same gentleman of whom I spocke formerly, still retaineing a grudge against Major Somervill, for the supposed affront he had receaved at the cas-

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[1] General Ruthven was appointed by Charles I. general of his army, after the death of the Earl of Lindsay, at the battle of Edgehill. He is thus characterized by Clarendon:—"General Ruthen, who by this time was created Earl of Brentford, was general of the army; but, as hath been said, both by reason of his age, and his extreme deafness, was not a man of council or words; hardly conceived what was proposed, and as confusedly and obscurely delivered his opinion; and could indeed better judge by his eye than his ear; and in the field well knew what was to be done."—CLARENDON'S *History of the Rebellion and Civil War in England*, Oxford, 1703, vol. II. p. 396.

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tle gate, which was extremely hightened from what he mett with by his oune miscarriage in the Gray Frier church-yaird, where Somervill had given him a fair and fitt opportunitie to have resented these affronts, if his heart had then served him for a revenge. But it would appear this gentleman conceived his affront being publict, noe satisfactione acted in a private way could save his honour; therefore to repair the same, he resolves to challenge and fight Somervill upon the High-street of Edenburgh, and at such a tyme when ther should be most spectators. In order to this designe, he takes the occasione, as this gentleman was betwext ten and eleven hours in the foirnoon hastily comeing from the castle, (haveing been then sent for to the committie of estates and General Leslie anent some important busines,) to assault him in this manner; Somervill being past the Weigh-house, Captaine Craufuird observeing him, presentlie steps into a high chope upon the south side of the Landmercat, and there layes by his cloak, haveing a long broad sword and a large Highland durke by his side; he comes up to Somervill, and without farder ceremonie, sayes, If you be a pretty man, draw your sword, and with that word pulles out his oune sword with the dagger; Somervill at

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first was somewhat stertled at the impudence and boldnesse of the man that durst soe openly and avowedly assault him, being in publict charge, and even then on his duty. But his honour and present preservatione gave him noe tyme to consult the conveniency or inconveniency he was now under, either as to his present charge or disadvantage of weapons, haveing only a great kaine staff[1] in his hand, which for ordinary he walked still with, and that same sword which Generall Rivane had lately gifted him, being a half rapper sword backed, which hinging in a shoulder belt far back, as the fashion was then, he was forced to guaird two or three strokes with his kaine before he got out his sword, which being now drawne, he soon puts his adversary to the defencive part, by bearing up soe close to him, and putting home his thrusts, that the captaine, for all his courage and advantage of weapons, was forced to give back, having now much adoe to parie the redoubled thrusts that Somervill let in at him, being now agoeing.

The combat (for soe in effect it was, albeit accidentall) began about the midle of the Land-

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[1] *i. e.* Cane.

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mercat. Somervill drives doune the captaine, still fighting, neer to the goldsmiths chops, where, fearing to be nailled to the boords, (these chops being then all of timber,) he resolved by ane notable blow to revenge all his former affronts; makeing thairfor a fent, as if he had designed at Somervill's right syde, haveing parried his thrust with his dagger, he suddenly turnes his hand, and by a back blow with his broad sword he thought to have hamshekelled[1] him in one, if not both of his legges, which Somervill only prevented by nimbly leaping backward at the tyme, interposeing the great kain that was in his left hand, which was quyte cut through with the violence of the blow. And now Providence soe ordered it, that the captain missing his mark, overstrake himself soe far, that in tyme he could not recover his sword to a fit posture of defence, untill Somervill haveing beaten up the dagger that was in the captaine's left hand with the remaineing part of his oune stick, he instantly closes with him, and with the pummill of his sword he instantly strikes him doune to the ground, where

[1] Ham-stringed.

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at first (because of his baseness) he was mynded to have nailled him to the ground, but that his heart relented, haveing him in his mercy. And att that same instant ther happened severall of his oune souldiers to come in, who wer soe incensed that they wer ready to have cut the poor captain all in peices, if he had not rescued him out of ther hands, and saw him safely convoyed to prisone, where he was layd in the irones, and continued in prisone in a most miserable and wretched conditione somewhat more than a year. But at length haveing written a most submissive and pitiefull letter to this gentleman's lady, who resided then in Gillmertoune, which she communicated to her husband, being then in England, governour of the toune of Durhame, he was pleased to wryte in his favours to the committie of estates, and magistrates of Edinburgh, that he might have his libertie, which was granted eftir he had inacted himself to perpetuall banishment, and thus his imprudent and unwarrantable carriage brought him both to misery and ignominy.

1644. The Irish forces[1] being come, and most of

[1] That is, such Scottish forces of their former levy as had been kept embodied for the purpose of suppressing the rebels

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these regiments now compleated for this expeditione, the Colledge of Justice, to declare ther disloyalty to the king, of whom they held ther dignities and places as judges and wrytters to his majesties signet, and withall ther sincerity and good intentione towards the covenant and pretended good cause, they would needs put furth a regiment of foot upon ther oune charges, to be commanded by one of ther number, viz. the Laird of Durry, a gentleman in Fyffe of the sirname of Gibsone.[1] Soe soon as Generall Leslie understood this resolutione of the Colledge of Justice, he labours to preferre, as leivetennent-colonnell to this regiment, a gentleman of his relatione and acquentance, which the Facultie[2] would not admit off. This busines came to be de-

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in Ireland. They were now recalled by the estates, and formed a formidable part of their new army, designed to invade England.

[1] Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, afterwards Lord Clerk Register of Scotland, and a senator of the College of Justice. He was deprived of both these offices by Cromwell. At this period he was a principal clerk of session, and, according to the scandalous Chronicle of Scott of Scotstarvet, obtained his preferment "by the moyen of William Murray, now Earl of Dysart, to whom it is said he gave a velvet cassock, lined with fine furrings, and a thousand double pieces thereon."—*Staggering State of Scots Statesman*, p. 125.

[2] The Faculty of Advocates.

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beat before the committie of estates, who, eftir hearing, at lenth determined, with the approbatione of the Colledge of Justice, that Major Somervill should command that regiment in the qualitie of leivetennent-collonell; with this old Leslie was much displeased, but could not withstand, seing the committie had ordered this gentleman's commissione to be drawen some dayes before the sealling and subscryveing. Generall Leslie by himself and the mediatione of others, dealles with Somervill to declyne that charge, and he would preferre upon him the command of one of these north country regiments that was not yet provided with a collonell. This offer of Leslie's Somervill communicates to his cussing, the Earle of Lauderdale, (the father of the present duke,) then president of the parliament of Scotland, and to the Earle of Argyle, and the Lord Lindsay, his friends, as likeways to Durry, his collonell, with other principall members of the Colledge of Justice; as for the lords, they advysed him to accept of noe other charge but what they had allotted for him, and for Durry, his collonell, with others of the faculty, they wer soe fully determined to have this gentleman to command that regiment, that they compleaned upon the generall for makeing a demurre in his

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commissione, which at lenth he receaved with a testimony of dislyke from old Leslie. As this was a bad beginning to have the ill-will of his generall (under whose command he was to be,) in a forraigne country, where the absolute command and power military was settled in the persone of his generall, soe the end proved fatall to this gentleman's reputatione, allbeit ther was no default in his courage, conduct, and trust, nor yet in these he commanded, as will appear from what follows.

This regiment of the Colledge of Justice being levyed within and about the toune of Edenburgh, and its suburbs, wherein severall wrytter-prentices and servants, with many trads-youths, ingadged themselves to the number of twelve hundereth, soe that this regiment when mustered, was one of the compleatest in all the armie, and that both for persones of men, armes, equipage, and skill in military exercise, many of the captains, formerly in old Lindsay's regiment, haveing quyte ther charge there to be under Somervill's command in this regiment, whom he receaved thankfully and heartily, persuading his collonell to accept of them upon the account and experience of their knoune valour. The regiment being now fully compleated in all its of-

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ficers and souldiers, and furnished with necessaries by the Colledge of Justice, most of the armie being allready upon ther martch, they likewise set furth in the month of February, 1644, when a deep storme of snow made them martch to the brane of the legs. The vigour of ther youth, and their being possessed with a strong beleif by the ministers of Edenburgh, that they wer to fight for no lesse cause then the preservatione of the protestant religione, the safety of ther oune lyves, and the libertie of ther countrey, made them dispence cheerfully with that hard beginning and many other difficulties which they mett with in that unhappie warre, commenced against ther native prince, whom in duetie and all conscience they ought to have fought for, not against.

The regiment being come full and compleat to Barwick, the generall, with Durry ther collonell, (who was now made generall commissar to the armie, haveing regiment to the Lord Sinclair,) aryves within few dayes, and then takes [command] of these forces that was quartered within Berwick, and the adjacent counties about, both in the English and Scots syde, which amounted to the number of fourteine thousand men or thereby, severall of the forces beyond Spay not being yet come up, nor the artillary traine and

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baggadge, which was daylie expected. Notwithstanding of the deepnesse of the snow during the generall's abode at Berwick, the Colledge of Justice ther regiment, quartered within the toune, and Leivetennent-collonell Somervill, as he had formerly been governour there, soe now the generall (dissembleing his conceaved prejudice upon the account of the disappoyntment he had met with in the electione of the officers to that regiment,) was pleased to conferre the keeping of the toune of Berwick upon him soe long as he remained there himself, which was neer a month, but the traine of artillarie, with some additionall regiments, being come up, he sets forward with the armie, which was supposed to be in all eighteine thousand men, whereof ther was two thousand and fyve hundereth cavillrie, ill mounted, except these that came from Ireland, which the generall made his oume regiment of horse, and gave the command thereof to Leivetennent-collonell James Bannantyne, brother to the Laird of Corras.

The progresse of this armie, with their particular actings, both by themselves and jointly with the parliament's armie in England, I leave to the histories of the civille warres allready written by severall English authors, and it's ho-

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ped will be followed by some of our oune natione with more candour and sincerity in many circumstances, then is observed in these wrytters, albeit the truth is, wee cannot be ill enough represented to the world, considering first the unjustnesse of our quarrell, and then the bad succesee that attended his majesty's armies eftir our engagements with the parliament of England, whereof wee have reasone to be much ashamed in being at the first outwitted by ther men of better rank and qualitie, and thereftir soundly cudgelled by ther mechanicks, the worst of traitors, though not to belie the devill, they became and really wer (thanks to ther learne masters) excellent souldiers.

For our pains and expence of bloodshed in assisting the parliament in ther unreasonable pretentions then started with the king, wherein we ought not nor should not have been concerned, (considering the tyes and obligationes we ly under,) but in vindicatione of his majesties rights against them. It's true wee wer then feathers of one foull, and agreed weill enough untill the prey was catched, and then quarrelled seemingly for the king's interest and our resting arrears; but really for being cheated in the remaineing pryce of his sacred blood, when given up at Newcastle, to

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the everlasting ignominie of our armie and natione; for, to speake the truth, that armie and the preceding, in the first and second engagements, was ther oune paymasters, at least the officers of the armie; witness the fair purchases made by most of them upon ther returne to Scotland, which, if they had lasted to the third air should have been noted as a miracle, being the pryce of blood wrongously shed, but that since wee have seen the generalls and principall leaders of the armies, some of them not to have a man left of ther successione to pisse against the wall, and others of them as to ther fortunes at present being in a very staggering conditione. But I proceed.

The armie haveing martched the lenth of Morpeth Castle, the generall resolves to garrisone the same, pretending that the toune of Newcastle being strongly garrisoned for the king, the souldiers thereof might make large excursions through the countrey when the armie was farder entered into England, and soe endanger the ammunitione and recruits that wer coming up, if ther wer not a garrisone with a judicious commander left at Morpeth, somewhat to awe them.

Theirfore out of complement, as he made the Lord Sinclair beleeve, he would conferre that

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charge upon his leivetennent-collonell, as haveing experience formerly of his vigilancy and care in matters of that nature intrusted to him. Sinclair, who was a better courtier then a souldier, saw in this affair with noe other eyes than these of his generall, presently condescended, without considering the honour and safety of his regiment, which comeing to the leivetennent-collonell's and the rest of the officers knowledge, they presently come to the collonell's quarters to know the truth of this affair; Sinclair informed them the generall was resolved to garrisone Morpeth Castle,[1] and leave a part of ther regiment in it

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[1] "This was the ancient baronial castle of the lords of the manor and town of Morpeth, built, as appears from the escheats of the 33d of Edward the Third, by William Lord Greystock, who died at Bramspath, in the bishopric of Durham, the 32d of Edward the Third, *anno* 1358. He likewise built the castle of Greystock. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - This castle stands about a quarter of a mile south of the town, and river Wansbeck, on an eminence, which overlooks them both. The part remaining seems to have been the gate-house. On it are parts of two watch turrets. It is built of square stone; in it are stairs ascending to the top, from whence there is a most delightful prospect. North-west of this gate, at about an hundred yards distance, is an artificial mount of no mean height. From the extent of the bounding wall still left standing, and the traces of former buildings, this castle seems, when entire, to have been a considerable edifice both for strength and extent; and, by

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to convoy the ammunitione and any small recruits that might come from Scotland to the armie, least the garrisone of Newcastle should make ane out-fall upon them they might have a place to reteir to for ther securitie, or be assisted with the additionall forces of that garrisone. His lievetennent-collonell told him he was not to dispute the generall's commands, but he conceaved it was not for the honour of the regiment and officers to have them separate from the armie, now when they wer lyke to come to actione in the feilds, and farre lesse that they should be devyded from themselves, by haveing the one half of them left within a ruinous hole not tinable by nature, and farre lesse by art; that if they should come to be beseiged they could not hold out two dayes; this, with severall other reasones given and urged by the leivetennent-collonell and major, the collonell told them ther was noe fear of a seidge soe long as ther armie was betwext them and the king's forces; as for the devyding of the regiment, it was much against his will and approbatione, but the generall would

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the finishing of the workmanship, appears to have well deserved the epithet of Fayre given by Leland."—Grose's *Antiquities of England*, vol. III.

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needs have it soe, alledgeing ther was neither use nor necessity for soe many men to be left there, nor yet was ther roume in the castle to lodge them. This last was true, for certainely it had been to this gentleman's advantage and safety too, if he had made a regular fortificatione without the house to have lodged his souldiers in, when he garrisoned them within that nestie hole. But when Providence determines a man's fall, it depryves him of his wonted foirsight and conduct, as it happened in the present caice with this gentleman, who, finding he could prevaill nothing with the generall, by his interest in the armie, but that it was resolved the house should be garrisoned with fyve companies of his regiment, and himself appoynted governour, he was once mynded to lay doune his commissione, quyte his charge, and return to Scotland, knowing weill that the generall did all this of purpose to rubbe some affront upon him; for, if either the castle came to be beseiged, he was sure neither the strenth of the place, nor the resolutione of the souldiers, could hold it out long; and then again he considered, that if the ammunitione and convoyes miscarried betwext that and the armie, the fault should be imputed to him, albeit he did his duty, and guairded never so well against

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apparent dangers, soe that in either of these caices which might fall out, the generall should have his revenge upon him for accepting the commissione as lievetennent-collonell to that regiment, by his oune moyane and interest with the committie of estates against his declared will and pleasure. But again, this gentleman considered that many men would misconstruct his giveing up of his charge at this tyme did either proceed from too much pride, deficiency of his oune conduct, and resolutione of these he commanded, or any other cause then the true one, men being always apt and too ready to imagine and beleive the worst upon such occasiones; thairfore, eftir much agitatione and contending in his oune mynde, at lenth he resolves to accept of that government, ther being noe eviteing of it unlesse he had quit his charge, and remaining in it, it was not propper for him to contravert his generall's commands, being then far from his freinds, the committie of estates in Scotland, that was both ther masters.

The armie being to martch from Morpeth, the Colledge of Justice regiment was drawen out fyve companies, wherof the leivetennent-collonnell martches to the castle, being his oune company, Captaine M^{c}Culloch, Captaine Hamiltone, with

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two other captaines whose names I do not remember, the wholl consisting of fyve hundereth men, includeing the officers with ther servants, a garrisone too strong and too good souldiers for so pitiefull a place; but the generall did this of purpose to lessen the odium that might be upon himself, in caice he should have left too small forces as convoyes for the security of the ammunitione and small recruits that was expected, for makeing up the emptie regiments that had been defective and negligent in ther levies; as also Leslie upon the old grudge was resolved to lessen the former reputatione this gentleman had gained at the seidge of Edenburgh Castle, and in his prudent conduct and care as to these garrisones of Berwick and Durrhame, when first they entered England in *anno* 1640; for the generall understood very weill that if any misfortune should happen unto these forces in ther convoy, or if the castle should be taken by storme, or surrender, haveing soe powerfull a garrisone in it, would undoubtedly soe far reflect upon this gentleman as to lose him the freinds he had in the committie of estates, and the good esteem that the officers and souldiers of the armie, and particularly this of his ounе regiment, had for him; and indeed in the end it proved

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soe as the generall desyred and designed, for the other seven companies belonging to this regiment he takes along with the armie, and gives the charge of them to the major. In regaird of his generall commissarship was necessitat allwayes to attend the generall at the houff quarters, and was pleased, at his parting from Morpeth, to order Alexander Hamiltone, nick-named "Dear Sandy," then generall of the artillarie, to leave only with the garrison of Morpeth three barrells of powder, sex boxes of lead, with match conforme, and if the governour should not think that sufficient, he might take more of the first ammunitione that came up, or bring it out of the magazine in Berwick, as he might have the assistance of the house belonging to that garrisone, if he apprehended any danger to the convoyes from the enemie.

This small provisione of ammunitione, with the generall's other directiones, the governour understood weill enough to what end they tended, but he held his peace, appearing not in the least dissatisfied with the generall's orders, whom he convoyed sex or seven mylles from the place, and then returnes to the garrisone, which he victualled but from one month to another, expecting every day to be called up to the armie, which

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his collonell gave him great hopes off with every poast. As he failled not with the same occasione to importunate his collonell, and he has often solicite the generall for that very end to noe effect, seing he delayed the giveing of the order upon frivolous pretences, untill the business was done to his hand, and that garrisone removed by a noble and generous enemie, as his first military service for his royall master, performed with English souldiers, which was a luckie omen or presage of these great actions he was to accomplish eftirward for his prince, with these of his oune natione, and some few Irishes sent to him from the Earle of Antrum, wherwith he acted wonders, to the astonishment of the present, and admiratione of succeeding ages. But of this eftirwards.

10th May, 1644. This gentleman haveing continued now somewhat more than two moneths governour of this place, wherein he observed soe exact discipline, that as the country thereabout compleaned of noe oppression from the garrisone, soe the enemie could never catch him at a disadvantage when occasione offered, in giving the convoy to any small party that went up to the army, but that he delyvered them safe to the adjacent forces of horse and dragounes quartered next to

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his garrisone, for their farder transportation. Soe that he hoped his generall should misse the designe of ruineing his reputation by soe pitiefull a charge; as for a formall seidge, it never entered within the consideration of his thoughts, nor was ther much reasone for it, seing the armie in which he served was yet inteir (and betwext him and any great bodie of the king's forces,) absolute master of that part of the countrey; and for the garrisone of Newcastle, and the king's other forces in the bishoprick of Durehame, he never doubted them, but in the matters of the convoys, which he was sure to make soe strong both in horse and foot, (haveing then a regiment of horse and other of dragounes quartered in the villages neer by his garrisone,) that the enemie could not attack them but upon a great disadvantage and losse to themselves. As for the garrisone of Newcastle, and these few scattered troupes in Northumberland, which the Marquis of Newcastle was dayly calling up to strenthen his oune armie, in order to a conjunctione with that of Prince Roberts,[1] which was about this

[1] Called usually Prince Rupert.

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tyme, by the king's command, upon ther martch to the north, to raise the seidge of the confederat armies from before Yorke, soe that no mortall man could foirsee, or the best of souldiers conjecture, from any appearent circumstances at that tyme, from the garrisone or from the king's forces in that place of the countrey, that they could have brought togither soe many fforces as to have hazarded a formall seidge, the Scots armie being within two or three dayes martch of them. But we find by often experience, when men is in greatest security, ther ruine is neerest, as is observable from what followed unexpectedly to this gentleman, who haveing receaved letters about the latter end of March from Scotland of his mother's death, had sent ane expresse to his collonell to procure from the generall a forloaf for ten dayes, only that he might be present to performe the last duety to soe neer a relatione; when, behold, before the returne of the messenger, the castle of Morpeth, whereof he was governour, was beseidged by a part of the garrisone of Newcastle, and other additionall forces belonging to the king upon this occasion.

The earle, then made Marques of Montrose, haveing the year preceding deserted the covenanters upon ther first communeing, and then

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entering into that hellish league and covenant with that part of the parliament of England, that acted as the representatives of that natione, albeit it was nothing so if truely considered, seing most of the nobilitie, and not a few of the barrones and burrowes, disouned ther authoritie, and adhered to the royall interest: However, this league and covenant, as to us and them both, was so distastable both to God and all good men, that its rememberance, with the authors and promoters thereof in both kingdoms, is and will be hateful to the present and succeeding ages; soe that it remains not only a reproach on themselves (but tainting ther blood, as the nature of all rebellions and treasons is,) it leaves ane everlasting staine upon ther posterity. The universality of the takers rather hightened then diminished the guilt of that combination, which tended to and did really produce the greatest rebellione that these nationes was acquainted with since they wer a monarchy; but enough of this, it may be too much for the squezie stomacks of our new zealots and non-conformists, the yet worshippers of that great goddess Diana. The league and covenant that was dictated to themselves or ther fathers by a spirit of contentione and lying, which yet remaines in them, as imita-

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tors of ther disobedience to the powers and authority set over them by the Lord, in disobeying of whom at this present they suffer, (if any thing they have mett with may deserve that name,) as evill doers, let them pretend and cry out what they will to the contrary, for it is not the sufferings, but the causes that makes the martyrs, and ther's was then and is yet the worst that ever was undertaken by Christian subjects against their prince, since the gospell was preached to mankynde, for which see all these authors that is written on this subject; for myself I mynde not to enter the list with them, to dispute the poynt, it being both impropper for this place and occasione, and been done allready by severall of the ablest pens in Europe. And seing this same gentleman, whose memory I wryte, was ingadged in the same rebellione with the generality of his undutefull countreymen, for which he first suffered by the conquering armes of that noble heroe, the Marques of Montrose, (his oune cussing by the house of Cambusnethen,) who haveing come to the king then at Oxfoord, assured his majestie the estates of Scotland and the parliament of England wer fully agreed as to all poynts of the league, and that they wer now about the levying of forces, which wer to be sent shortly into Eng-

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land to joyne with these of the parliament, in oppositione to his majesties forces there. This informatione James Duke of Hamiltone, and William Earle of Landrick, his brother, by ther letters to the king, confidently opposed, either out of envy to Montrose, as disdaining any matters of consequence should be mannadged in Scotland to his majesties advantage, but by ther oune interest and meditatione; or intentionally, (as was then and is yet suspected by many) that the covenanters might meet with noe hinderance or disappoyntment in the prosecutione of ther grand designes then on foot with the parliament of England: in this I shall not take upon me to be positive or determine any thing as to the intentions of these noblemen, but leaves it free to every man to judge according to reasone, but I am apt to beleeve, from severall circumstances that followed long eftir this (albeit it be true Lendrick's departing from the king, and joyneing with the covenanters, can in noe sence be justified,[1]) that it was the too much confidence

[1] This, however, was after his brother the Duke of Hamilton had been committed to Pendennis Castle. According to Burnet, "The Earl of Lanerick went to London, and from that returned to Scotland, where it clearly appeared, that nei-

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they had in their oune power, and ther supposed interest with these that then sat at the helme of affairs in Scotland, wherof many being ther neer relations, they imagined to have a great influence upon to stop that engadgement, wherein being disappoynted, it cannot be imputed as disloyalty in them towards the king, or any intentione or designe they had to hinder or prejudge his majesties affairs; however, it cannot be denyed, they wer intrusted by the king in this matter to his irrapairable dammadge and losse in the end, notwithstanding of all the eftir endeavours of these noble lords, to repaire this errour of theirs by severall undertakeings for his majesties service, wherein they proved allwayes unsuccessfull, and at lenth suffered by the losse of ther lives, and apparent ruine of ther estates, upon the royall accompt.

His majestie being now certified that our armie was upon ther martch for England, understood

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ther the malice of his enemies, nor the hard measure he met with at Oxford, could overcome his love and duty to the king: for though he was forced to comply in many things with the publick counsels, yet he begun very soon to draw a party, that continued to cross the more violent and fierce motions of Argyle and his followers."—BURNET's *Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton*, Lond. 1677, p. 270.

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that Montrose his information was true, and advyce conductable to his service in that kingdom; thairfore waveing all sinister informatione that Montrose's enemies might suggest against him, he was graciously pleased to grant him as ample a commissione as was ever given to any subject, wherin, as commissioner and governour of the kingdome of Scotland, he had power to call and conveen the parliament, raise forces, and impose taxes, for ther mentenance; and farder, as generall of his majesties forces in the kingdome of Scotland, he had power to make warre upon all that stood in oppositione to the king, as likeways to enter into treaties, and make peace, as he should find it most conduceable to his majesties service in that kingdome.

Being thus impowered, and haveing received his commissione, he set forwards in his journey for Scotland, having in his company Sir William Rollo, brother to the Lord Rollo, and Collonell Sibbald, who, eftir many traverses with this noble peer, at lenth deserted him, to the staineing of his former reputatione. With these and some others he came first to Carlyll, where, being disappoynted in some project he had designed for his majesties service, he traverses the countrey and comes to Newcastle, then strongly garrison-

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ed for the king, where, meeting with the ancient Earle of Crawfuird, and severall other Scots noblemen and gentlemen of qualitie, that had reteared themselves from Scotland upon the account of the covenant, and were come to Newcastle to attend his majesties commands there, these, with the Earle of Crawfuird, dealles with the Marquesse of Montrose, that he might use his interest to perswade the governour of Newcastle, and these other officers that commanded in chief the king's forces within the bishoprick of Durrehame, to let them have some of the forces belonging to that garrisone, and others in that part, for the king to ferry out a few of ther rebellious countreymen that had nested themselves in the toune and castle of Morpeth. This being taken to consideration by a counsell of warre, it was thought expedient for his majesties service to free that part of the countrey of these few rebells that soe much straitned the quarters of these that adhered to the king in Northumberland, especially, seing they wer certanely informed the great body of ther armie was now amartching to joyne with the Lord Manchester and Sir Thomas Fairfoxe, then generalls of the parliament's armies in that part of the kingdom, to beseidge the citty of Yorke. This being con-

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cluded on, ther was presently drawen furth from the garrisone of Newcastle, and the adjacent feild forces, two thousand foot, and fyve hundereth horse, English, besydes two hundereth of Scots nobility and gentry, with ther attendants that wer there for his majesties service: the command of all these forces by the English officers was given to the Marques of Montrose, as being generall for the king in Scotland, and these forces at that tyme mainly designed to fight against the Scots rebells in English ground.

The Marques of Montrose being furnished with these forces, he resolves, as his first military service, to free Northumberland of his rebellious countreymen; in order to this, he martches as quickly and quyatly from Newcastle as he could, thinking to surprize these few troupes of horse and dragounes in ther quarters that lay in his way to Morpeth; but they had notice of his speedy martch by a troupe of horse that was newly come from Scotland, and that morning was upon ther way for the Scots armie, when meeting with the forlorn hope of Montrose his horse, that had given them the chase for four or fyve myles back to Morpeth, this soe allarumed all the troups both in this and the other syde of

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Morpeth, that they hastened away in great confusione, without ever looking the enemie in the face; some of them by long marches never stinted untill they came up to the armie, but most of them sheltered themselves in Berwick, a strong and weill furnished garrisone of the covenanters. It was by the flight of ther troupes that Leivetennent-collonell Somervill, governour of Morpeth Castle, had first notice that ther was any enemie neerer to him than Newcastle, thairfore, to be assured of the truth of ther newes, he presently mounts fourteinthe horses belonging to himself and the other officers of the garrisone, with these he sets furth to view the enemie, haveing learned by his experience abroad that a principall commander in any place should never take his informatione of the approach of ane enemie from a second hand, but from his oune sight; when he was upon horseback he rydes round the castle, and gives orders to Captain M'Culloch presently to beat doune all the out-office houses that stood neer the castle, which hitherto he had foreborne to doe, in regard he was unwilling to ruine a nobleman's conveniency about the house, as also it was farre from his expectatione that he should have soe long continued in that place,

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and in the end endured a seidge, which now apprehending he provydes accordingly as the shortnesse of the tyme would allow him.

Having given this and some other directions to Captain M'Culloch, he sets furth with his small party, takeing allwayes the higher ground, that soe he might the sooner come to have a full view of the enemies strenth. He had scarce martched four mylles from the castle, when Leivetennent Lawsone sends back one of these three horsemen that the governour had sent out with him some space before to view the feilds, to tell him that he had discovered the enemies scouts, and was resolved to engadge them if they retreated not before they could come up at them; this messuage was scarce delyvered, when, by the repoart of four or fyve pistolls, the governour understood the leivetennent had been as good as his word, for the two scouts haveing been informed by the countrey people that all the troupers wer fled from ther quarters, they fancyed these few horsemen which they saw was some countrey gentlemen at ther sport, because they observed them keep somewhat off the common road, thairfore they came briskly up to challenge them with ther pistolls drawen and cocked within lesse than carrabine shott, before they percea-

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ved ther errour, which haveing once done, they begane to cast about, haveing fyred but one shott as a warneing to ther partie that was not far off the leivetennent. Soe soon as he saw them first stand, and then begine to turne ther horses, he made up to them with a full gallop, and at a just distance fyred upon them, which, in retreating, they answered by fyreing over ther shoulders, but, in the mean tyme, made to the gate as fast as ther horses could carry them, which being much better than ther persewers, they went clear off to ther party, which they mett comeing up upon the spurre, as the governour was doeing the lyke untill he observed the leivetennent retiring to him slowly, having much heated his horses in the persute, as he had done the lyke in advanceing, which made him stand untill the leivetennent came up to informe him of what had passed, which, whill he was adoeing, they might observe within lesse than a quarter of a mylle, ane partie of fourtie horses advanceing to a little hill, where they set of purpose to view the ground.

Both parties being now in sight of one another, the governour conceaved that, if he used not some stratageme to make this party reteir without fighting them, (being by farre his over-

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match,) his maine designe for which he came furth being to get a sight of the enemies full strenth, thairfore, to delude that party, and to make them beleve he was resolved to fight them, as haveing far greater forces then they under cover of the adjacent hills, in ther sight he drawes off his party, leaveing only one horseman upon the place to give him a signe if the enemie offered to move from ther statione; being now out of ther sight, he takes a compasse, and martches his party by the back of some inclosed ground, never appearing untill he came allmost within carrabine shott of the enemie, and then hastily upon the first appearing he sends furth Leivetennent Lawsone with fyve others, as it wer to provoke them to skirmish. The enemie being herewith startled as having first seen this partie at some distance, and now finding them neer by provokeing them soe resolutely to fight, fancyed immediately that this party being far greater then they appeared, had either laid ane ambush for to catch them, or wer resolved by ther soe neer approach to get betwixt them and ther oune armie, therby to cutt them off or make them prisoners, to prevent which they begane to drawe off without offering to engadge; ther motione at first was slow, untill they saw and heard

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the horsemen that was left by the governour to give him notice of ther motione, fyres a pistoll, which they supposeing to be a signe for his partie to persew them, they then made more quickly to the gate.

The governour haveing obtained his end, was very glad to be so easily quyte of them, presently martches his small party to the same height from whence the enemie had parted; here he takes out his prospect to observe what way that party had taken, when, behold, ther came within sight at neer two or three mylles distance, the enemies wholl armie, martching in very good order, whereupon he alights from his horse, that laying his prospect upon a rest (it being a long one) he might take up ther number and order the better, which he did clearly in observeing first sex cornets of horse, martching upon the van of the armie, and after them twenty-fyve ensignes of foot, in a single lyne; the rear he could not soe exactly take up, being mixed with the baggadge, and martching much out of order. He was very dilligent in viewing all the severall divisiones of this armie, to see if they had any cannon with them, but he could observe non. Thereof he was very glad, as hopeing, notwithstanding of ther number, he should be able to

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defend the place committed to his charge, soe long as these should be wanting. Haveing now seen what he desyred, he quyetly (without being noticed by the enemie) martches back his party to the castle, and puts all things in as good order as the place could admitt off, haveing rather too many then too few men for soe strait a hold, that did not allow the souldiers the orderly exercise of their courage and armes, as a regular fortificatione would have done. To supply that defect, he was resolved, if the enemie continued any whylle in the beleagering of the castle, (and made ther approaches not all the nearer,) to make up some out-workes to lodge a company or two of his souldiers in, the better to defend the avenues and enteries of the castle, and whylle this should be a-doeing, he mynded to exercise the enemie with frequent sallies, he hoped, considering the number of his men, to their noe little dammadge and discouragement.

The day before the enemie blocked up the castle, he dispatched away two expresses, the one for Scotland to the committie of estates, the other to Generall Leslie; in the first of these he gave ane account of the enemies strenth, both horse and foot, and of these that commanded them, soe far as he had seen and could informe

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himself from the country; next he shewed them the weaknesse of the place, and how badly it was provyded, both as to victualls and ammunitione, for a seidge, whereof he had often compleaned to his generall by frequent messuages, but had noe other returne, save that shortly he was to be called up to the armie, and to be freed of that charge. In this letter he was pressing with the committie of estates, that now seing the Earle of Callender, with the second levy, was reddy upon the borders for his martch into England, that they would be pleased to hasten them up for his releiff, the hazarding of so many gallant men as he commanded, in being killed or made prisoners, was of far greater consequence then the garrisoneing of that castle had been, or ever could have contribute to their honour's service, whereof eftirwards they might come to be more sensible, when the opportunity of releaving them should be lost.

With this letter, direct to the committie of estates, he sent severall others to his freinds in that court, as Lauderdale and Ballmerenoch, wherein, eftir he had given an account of the state of that part of the countrey, and his oune present conditione, he intimate noe less to them then that his generall had garrisoned Morpeth

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Castle more out of pique against him, then any absolute necessity ther was for it upon the account pretended by him for the public service, which he humbly craved ther lordships might advert to, and be instrumentall to perswade the committie to move ther generall or my Lord Callender to send him present releaff, otherwayes all the souldiers would undoubtedly be lost, and his oune reputatione, let his endeavours be what they will to prevent both. What returne these letters, or these sent to the generall or his collonell (much of the same straine) had in particular I cannot say, all of them being lost; but by a second advertisement sent by the governour to the committie of estates privately, with a souldier in a beggar's habit during the seidge, Chancellor Campbell[1] was pleased to signifie that the committie of estates had now soe great affairs in agitatione before them, that they had no tyme to look aftir military concerns of the armie, which they had wholly committed to the care and conduct of ther generall, the Earle of Leiven, from whom he was to expect his releaffe

[1] Earl of Loudon, Lord High Chancellor.

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and orders as to what concerned that garrisone. This answer came from my Lord Loudone, then chancellor of Scotland, when the Marques of Montrose for some few days had withdrawen his English forces from before Morpeth Castle, of whose seidge it's proper in this place I should give ane particular account, seing the gentleman whose memory I now wryte was governour thereof at the tyme.

Upon Tuesday the tenth of May, 1644, neer sex in the evening, the governour being returned with his party from viewing the enemie to the castle, he immediately causes cut a deep graff[1] before the entrie, backing up the castle gate with earth and faill, to prevent the enemies clapting on their pettardes for blowing up the gate, which for ordinary they attempt, when by a sudden assault they intend to surprize any strenth; his next care was to appoynt his souldiers to the battlements and rounds[2] of the castle, (for it had noe other flankers nor bastialls,[3] as is in use, in the under fortificatione,) and other such places as could best defend the same, and annoye the enemie with ther shott; but that

[1] Trench. [2] Turrets. [3] Bastions.

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which might have been of great advantage in a larger and regular fortification, was here to his dammadge and prejudice, for, haveing within this castle fyve intire companies, consisting with ther officers of fyve hundereth men: The third of these wer pikemen, as appoynted for the field service, but uselesse for the most part in a house garrisone, except upon some extraordinary occasione, which seldome occurrs, as it could never have done in this, the court itself, and all the other voyd places being so strait, that the souldiers had not the use of this weapone, and which was worse, there was not one spare muskett nor halbert in the castle to furnish these pikemen with, but these the serjants and ther fellow souldiers carried that wer musketeirs; however, the governour, to supply this want of offencive armes, that his souldiers might have frequent releaff when in service, he devyded them in three companies, and appoynted that one of these should be but in actione at a tyme, the other two being for ther releaff. Soe many of them as were pikemen wer to make use of ther fyre armes when they wer releaved. Thus the garrisone being put in a posture of defence, the governour that evening and the ensuing night watchfully attended ane assault which was not given untill the Wednes-

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day morning; for Montrose thought it convenient to refresh his weary souldiers eftir ther hard martch before the assault was given, and to provyde ledders and other necessaries fitt for the purpose, seing as yet he had noe cannon to batter the walles, thereby to enter by a breatch the more certane, and probably the safer way then he could have done by scaleing the walles of this castle, which he was now necessitat to doe for the want of gunns. Thairfore about the dawning of the day he advances eight ensignes of foot, having with them twenty-four long ledders, with sex men appoynted for ther carrying and clapping to the walles, besyde these souldiers that was to mount them upon the stormeing, which being given suddenly without the ordinary ceremonie of a summonds, they wer receaved by the garrisone with the same resolutione, for the centinalles having fyred upon ther first appearance, the governour, with these appoynted for the first defence, played the assaulters soe hotly, that with ther shott from all quarters of the castle, and then by overturning ther ledders from the walls, with these that had mounted, that in the end, eftir neer two hours dispute, they forced them from the walles to retreat, with the losse of a major that commanded these that stormed, one

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captaine, three leivetennents, three ensignes, six serjants, and fourtie souldiers, left dead upon the place, with twice that number both of officers and souldiers wounded. The besieged in this actione lost only two serjeants, a drummer, and fyve souldiers, with a few wounded.

Montrose finding, by the repulse he had gotten, and the slaughter of his men, that the castle was not to be surprized, haveing so vigilant a governour, nor yet cheaply taken by storme, haveing so stout a commander and soe powerfull a garrisone, he therefore contented himself for the tyme, to block them up, that noe provisione could enter, being certanely informed from his intelligence they had scarce a monethes meat within the castle. About ten a clock in the fornoon, the beseidgers begane to forme ther leagor within sight of the castle, and at night, soe soon as it was dark, they broke ground within lesse than half a muskett-shott of the walles, and cast up a small runneing trench round the castle, both to keep them in, and to serve as a breast-worke to preserve themselves when they fyred from this work: at soe much distance the governour apprehended no great danger, being weill acquainted with the forme and manner of a seidge, which made him give them noe interruptione by sallies

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or other ways, as knowing they could not prejudge him farder then in stopping his victualling of the castle, which they might have done without a seidge, being now masters of that part of the countrey. Soe soon as it was day, the beseidgers fyred desperately from behind ther breast-worke, and wer but slowly (only for the fashione) answered from the castle; the governour spareing his amunitione (whereof he had not much) untill a more pressing occasione. During this tyme, generall Leslie, upon Fridayes night, had advertisement that the castle of Morpeth was beseidged, and by whom, being conscious to himself that it could not hold out long if a battery of gunns wer planted against it; thairfore that it might not appear he had done nothing for its releaff, eftir soe many advertisements (for which he might have been made countable to his masters the committie of estates), upon Saturnesday morning he sent back orders to sex troupes of horse, and four of dragounes (amounting in all neer to eight hundreth, which wer comeing up to the armie), that they should presently, upon sight of his orders, make a counter martche for the releaff of Morpeth Castle, and take with them a regiment of foot belonging to the English parliament that

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lay in ther way, with which, and some assistance and amunitione from the garrisone of Berwick, he conceaved they might raise the seidge and bring off the garrisone of Morpeth safe to the armie. The officers that commanded these horse and dragounes haveing receaved this order from the generall, makes a counter martche, where, meeting with the collonell and other officers, belonging to the English regiment of foot, to whom they intimate Leslie's commands in order to a conjunctione, they excussed themselves upon the account that the regiment was not yet compleat, nor fully armed, and ready for a present martche, as the necessitie of the expeditione requyred; and albeit even yet durst they not be answerable to engadge in any actione without expresse warrand and orders from some of the parliament's generalls. The Scots commanders finding themselves disappoynted of this assistance, resolves, notwithstanding, to martche forward, and try, either by force or stratagame, to bring off ther country men, which, whylle they wer advanceing to prosecute this designe, Montrose had tymely intelligence of the speedy martche of a great body of horse towards his camps, which was not fortified nor secured from a sudden infall, and from which, upon Frydayes

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morning, he had sent a considerable detachement, both of horse and foot, to bring up the cannon that was comeing from Newcastle, having found, by experience, without these he should prevail nothing. Upon the first report he calles a councell of warre, but of the Scots nobilitie and English officers that was with him, and craves ther advyce whither to continue the seidge or to raise the seidge and fight the enemie upon the way. All wer of the opinione it was the safest to engadge them at some mylles distance from the castle, that soe the issueing furth of the garrisone for ther assistance might be uselesse to them; this being concluded upon, airly on the Sabbath morning, Montrose, in sight of the castle, drawes furth from the intrenchment his wholl armie, which made the governour apprehend at first he designed a generall assault, who accordingly provyded for their unkyndely receptione; but when, by ther outsetting and martche, he perceaved they intended a removall, he could not conjecture what might be the occasion therof, for hitherto he had heard of noe releaff comeing to him; thairfore, watcheing ther motione so far as his prospect would allow, he found they took not Newcastle road, but the quyte contrary, which made him certainly conclude, they had

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heard of forces comeing to raise the seidge, wherof himself and all the garrisone was very glad, as being quyte of troublesome guhests; but this was but a blinke before a showr, which fell heavily upon them a few dayes thereaftir.

Montrose having thus quytte his campe, the governour martched his furth, and demolishes ther breast-worke, and leavells all the other intreanchments the enemie had made, and what other heighes and houses was neer the castle, but only a great new barne lately built for the use of the lord of the manor,[1] which the governour was unwilling to pulle doune, knowing any battery raised at it could not make a breatche, being at too great a distance, but he considered not what other prejudice he might receave by its standing; but of this eftirward.

Montrose haveing removed his armie from before the castle, martched them directly to meet the enemie, who was also advanceing with great speed, as hopeing to surpryze them in ther open leagor, which, now, to ther great amazement, they wer disappoynted off, by fynding them ten mylles on the other syde of Morpeth; and that in order to fight them, which eftir they had ta-

[1] The Earl of Carlisle.

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ken a full view of them, they had noe stomack for, fearing to be over-matched by ther number; Montrose being (notwithstanding of the detatchement which he had sent off to convey the cannon, and was not yet returned) neer equall to them in horse, but had also a compleat bodie of foot, whereof they were destitute. Both parties being come in sight, they made a stand to view each others order and number, whylle thair forelorne hopes was hotly engadged in a lane, and after a short dispute, the covenanters horse had the better (being interlyned with ther dragounes), by beating Montrose's partie back to the body of ther horse that had the vane of his armie, which now he begane to forme in battallzie, expecting his enemies should have done the lyke and given him battell, for as yet he was ignorant of ther want of foot, which indeed was the only reasone they came not to a present engadgment, for the principal officer that commanded this great partie of horse (whose name and designatione I have unhappily forgotten, albeit the same was told me oftener than once by the gentleman from whom I had the narratione of this actione) was willing enough to have foughten if he had had but the half of Montrose his foot, the want whereof made him declyne ane totall en-

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gadgement, and only to wait ane oppertunitie to fight the horse in wholl or in part, when they should be at any distance separate from ther foot; but he had too great and knowing a commander (albeit not so weill knoune then as eftirward, by his great and glorious actiones for his prince), to be outwitted by him in any poynt of warre, which made them both soe circumspect as to keep the bodies of ther armies at some distance for two dayes; when at length Montrose began to have some thoughts his detatchment with the cannon might be upon ther returne from Newcastle, who, missing him from the seidge, could not but wonder what was become of ther armie, haveing as yet had noe advertisement of ther removall, thairfore he both dispatches ane expresse to them, and upon the Tuesday, in the eftirnoone, presses the covenanters horse sore to ane encounter, which they utterly refused by a fair, but slow retreat, off purpose to withdraw Montrose's horse from his foot; for dragounes he had non but these four compleat companies, wherein they confyded much, as they had good reasone, these eftirward being made up a regiment, being commanded by Collonell Frizall, and wer knoune, with Lawer's regiment of foot, to be the stoutest regiment in the

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Scots armie. This retreat of the covenanters horse being upon open feild, whereas the preceeding dayes they had lyne somewhat under cover amongst the inclosures of purpose to delude him, Montrose now perceaved that party consisted wholly of horse, which made him apprehend they might give him the guile,[1] and soe bring off the garrisone of Morpeth to strenthen themselves, or other ways surprize his detatchment with the cannon, and thereby make themselves formidable, with the assistance of the garrisone of Berwick, which was able to furnish them with a considerable party of horse and foot, with all sort of amunitione of warre, whereby they should not only be in a conditione to disappoynt him of his great designe of freeing the countrey from the garrisone of Morpeth Castle, but that also, with these additional forces so furnished, forced him to fight upon unequall terms. All these inconveniences he resolves to prevent, by leaving off from following the fleeing enemie, and returne his oune armie to ther first statione before Morpeth Castle, which he did the fyfth day eftir ther out-setting, being Thursday. The same night

[1] *i. e.* Beguile.

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he had advertisement his cannon would be with him upon Fryday morning, of which he was very glad, being now hopefull (as he had all the reasone in the world to beleive) he should effectuat the bussines for which he came from Newcastle, to the encouragement of the king's friends in the northland counties, and his oune honour; the same being his first essay in his majesties service as to any militarie actione wherein he commanded in cheiff.

During this intervall of Montrose his absence, the governour had not only sent new advertisement to Scotland to the armie, but also held a serious consultatione with all the commissionat officers of the garrisone, where the questione was put, Whither they should remaine still in the castle and runne the hazard of a new seidge, with all the difficulties and disadvantages they lay under, or remove the garrisone to Berwick and blow up the castle, seeing it was not, nor could not, upon a sudden, without a vast deal of charges, be made defencable against cannon in a formall seidge; whereof haveing given soe often advertisement to the committie of estates and the generall, they thought themselves exonered at ther hands, and in conscience obleidged to preserve the lives of their souldiers and ther oune

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honour, both which would undoubtadely be lost in offering obstinately to keepe out soe weake and ruinous a hold? This being put to a vote, it was carried by two parts to a third, that the garrisone should be removed, and the castle blown up. This resolutione of the councel of warres the governour acquaints his old commerad and fellow traveller, Lodowick Lesslie, being then governour of Berwick, who advysed, that, seing the caice soe stood with him, that it was not possible to keep out the castle, it should be more for his honour to preserve the lyves of his souldiers by a tymely retreat, then a doubtfull capitulatione with ane unsonsie enemie. What resolutione the governour might have taken from this advyce of Lodowick Lesslie's is uncertaine, seeing he had noe tyme to consider upon it. The enemie, just upon the returne of the messenger, had blocked up the castle upon the Fryday morning, and by three in the eftirnoon they began to fyre upon it with sex pieces of cannon from behind the great barne that the governour would not suffer to be demolished, which now served to preserve the cannoners and souldiers from the shott of the castle, and give them opportunitie without any great hazard of the slauter of ther men, in a few hours to beat doune most of the

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battlements of the castle, that the souldiers was forced to leave them, eftir many of them had been killed and wounded, partly by the bullets, but mostely by stones that was strucken out of the walls by the shotts. About twelve o'clock that night, the governour, with Captaine M^cCulloch and Captaine M^cDougall, with other inferior officers, makes ane outfall[1] with two hundereth of the most resolute souldiers in the garrisone; with these, in spyte of all oppositione, they sett the barne on fyre, being only covered with rye strae; this sudden and unexpected attempt put the souldiers that gairded the cannon in such a consternatione, that they war upon the poynt of deserting them, if ther horse gaird had not come quickly in for ther encouragement, which made this combat, although foughten in the darke and cooll of the night, exceeding warme. The castle souldiers being excellent fyre men, charged and discharged ther musquets twyce for the enemies once, most of them being but fresh watter souldiers, newly listed under ther coullors, and as yet but ill trained by ther English officers. However, by this tyme, the

[1] *i. e.* Sally.

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whole armie had taken the allarume, and wer fast comeing in for the releiff of ther men, and rescueing of ther cannon, soe that the governour haveing done his businesse tymeously, begane to make his retreat to the castle with his pickemen in ther rear, to keep up the enemies horse; these being interlyned with some musquetts as they retreated, fyred constantly back upon the enemie, whereby many of ther horse was wounded, and severall killed in this outfall; the governour had threttaine men killed, and twentie-two wounded; Captain M^c^Culloch was wounded in the neck by a pick, and Leivetennant Lawsone in his thigh by a shott, and severall other inferior officers. The enemie had the captaine of ther gaird killed, one of ther cannoners, threttie souldiers, and fyftie-sex wounded, whereby many was horse men that had ther horses killed, both by picks and musquets shotts as they pressed hard upon the garrisone souldiers when they retreated to the castle.

Montrose fyinding that the cannon had now beaten doune all, or most of the rounds and battlements of the castle, from which his souldiers had receaved considerable losse, he begane then to consider, that a batterie at that place being soe farre distant, would take a long tyme before

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it could make a breatche; thairfore, upon Saturnsdays night, he caused cast up first a large breast-worke within lesse then ane hundreth pace of the castle wall, and makeing his souldiers worke hard upon the Sabbath and Munday, from behind this breast-worke he raises two batteries, each haveing on them three peice of cannon, wherewith, upon Tuesdayes morning by break of day, he begane to batter the foir wall of the castle, betwext the gate and the south corner of the castle, neer to some vents of chimnies. It was Thursday about four a clock at night before they had made any considerable breatche in the wall, and that because of the unskillfullnesse of the cannoneirs, who, haveing begune ther batterie very high, whereas at first they should have lowered ther shott by the grasse at the root of the wall, and so battering upward. The wall being undermyned, ther bussinesse had been much sooner done, and a breatch opened whereby they might have entered; but now, eftir the losse of some tyme, and the waste of more powder then needed, the breatch was opened, and a generall storme resolved upon by Montrose and all his officers.

The governour, dureing the intermissione of

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the guns (for noe man durst stand in the breatch when they wer playing) caused cut a deep trench betwext the two syde walls of the castle, directly crosse the breatch, casting the earth therein, and what that did not make up, he filled with feather beds, strongly packed togither with cords. This served to good purpose soe long as the breatch was of noe great wydenesse, but the enemie haveing observed, by the ryseing of much more dust then was usuall, and the fleeing of feathers, that the governour was endeavouring to stop the breatch with such materialls, and to interrupt them in ther trench (which they certainly concluded they had made in the inner syde of the wall), if they should enter; thairfore they postponed for a tyme ther first resolutione of stormeing, untill they saw what might be done with ther gunns upon other places of the castle, which now they begane to direct at randome against the whole front of the castle, whereby, in a few hours, they not only drave the souldiers of the garrisone from the defences, many of them being knocked doune by the shotts and stones, but alsoe in many places opened the walls so as they might have seen quyte through the castle into the open court. The garrisone being now reduced to this extremetie,

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the governour haveing likewayes receaved a shott by a musquet ball, which entered at his hals-band,[1] grazed up the foirpart of his scull, and went out at the croune of his hatt, giveing him only a slight wound, by takeing off some of the hyde and hair of his head, which yet bled soe excessively, that at first, both himself and these that stood by him thought he had been mortally wounded; which mistake, by the officiousnesse of some persones that was neer the governour at the tyme, runne quickly through the castle, whereupon the affrighted souldiers begane to cry, their governour's obstinacy had lost himself and ruined them all, in refuseing to hearken to a capitulatione which the Marques of Montrose had kyndely offered the day preceeding this accident, with ther being by this tyme brought to shelter themselves in the vaults and lowest apartements of the castle, from the great and small shott, which now the beseidgers poured in upon them through the breatches, whereof they could have but small revenge in makeing ane excursione upon them; being forced to these dungeons, which haveing only a few narrow lights,

[1] Or neck-cloth.

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served only for one, or two souldiers at most, to fyre out at, and that alwayes with the hazard of ther lyves; for Montrose had ordered sex musqueteirs opposite to each of these loup-holes, which wer commanded still to fyre upon them soe soon as they saw the appearence of a musquet set out. These extremities soe incensed the whole souldiers and displeased most of the commissionat officers, that they solemnly swore that if the castle was not rendered upon such conditions as the enemie would grant, they should tye ther governour and these other officers that offered to disswade him, and delyver them up with the castle to the enemie. The governour being informed of this, was much startled with the impudency of his souldiers, but comeing to know that some of his officers countenanced them in ther arrogancy, he (fand) ther was noe stryveing against the stream, especially seing that by this tyme two parts of his fyre armes was sprung, and the rest so furred by constant fyreing, were become unserviceable; thairfore, eftir he had advysed with his principall officers, and that he had conveened the souldiers in the court, and given them a sharpe and severe rebuke for ther mutinous humour, which eftirwards they might come to remember if they gave not

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an ample testimonie of ther obedience, he at lenth told them he was willing to hearken to a capitulatione, and thereupon dismissed the souldiers, and gave orders to hing out a whyte flag, which being seen by these upon the batteries, they presently gave notice thereof to the Marquesse of Montrose, who sent Sir William Rollo and Major Leg, an English officer, to enquyre what that they demanded. Captaine M^{c}Culloch told them the governour was willing to give up the castle upon honourable terms, such as might be agreed to by capitulatione betwext his excellence the Marques of Montrose and him. These gentlemen told Captaine M^{c}Culloch the governour should have ane answer within two hours, and withall craved a cessatione that ther might be noe fyreing from the castle, as there should be none from the trenches and batteries dureing that tyme, which was condescended to by both parties.

Within the tyme appoynted both these gentlemen returned and told Captaine M^{c}Culloch that the Marques of Montrose, his majesties captaine-generall and governour of the kingdome of Scotland, was willing, upon the governour's surrender of the castle of Morpeth, to receave them into mercy, and grant them all ther lyves, notwith-

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standing that, as traitors and declared rebells, they had obstinately keeped out one of his majesties castles in his kingdome of England, which, with the accomplisses, they had invaded to assist his rebellious subjects there. This being reported to the governour, he presently returned answer, he was not to dispute with his excellence the grounds and motives whereuppon the estates of Scotland had sent ther armies into England; for himself, he had acted according to his commissione, and the trust conferred upon him by his generall in keeping the castle of Morpeth, not against, but for his majesties use, as he understood, and therfore he hoped his excellence and these noble lords with him (being now likewayes in the qualitie of souldiers), would put a more favourable constructione upon them of the same occupatione, then to brand them with the hatefull name of traitors, which ther very soulls abhorred; as for the generall terms offered, he understood his duty and the part of a souldier better, than to submit to ane enemies mercy the lyves of soe many gallant men, as he was not only concerned, but obleidged to preserve, though with the losse of his oune: his honour being of much more value than his life, which as he had often heretofore hazarded to preserve the other,

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soe now should it be spent in defence of that house to the last man, unlesse his excellence entered into articles of capitulatione with him. This being made knoune to Montrose, who formerly understood the humor of this gentleman, who had the honour to be his relatione by the house of Cumbusnethen, he told these of the counsell with him and the English officers, that the seidge had been already bloody, and might be much soe if they rendered the garrisone desperate, ther being yet in the castle many gallant men, with an expert and resolute governour that would sell ther lyves to them at a very dear rate; thairfore it was his opinion that three of ther number should he sent to the governour to capitulate anent the surrender; especially seing his majesties affairs called them else where to doe him better service then the takeing of a pitifull house by force from these that wer now willing to give it up upon easy terms. This motione was noe sooner made then agreed to, and these gentlemen, formerly imployed with Collonell Sibbald, sent unto the governour to agree anent the conditions of the surrender; they wer receaved by the governour at the posterne gate of the castle, and from thence brought to the great hall; where, eftir mutuall salutations, Sir

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William Rollo told the governour they were come from the Marquess of Montrose to know upon what terms he would delyver up Morpeth Castle to him as the king's captaine-general for Scotland, and haveing his authoritie and command to act for his service in that part of England. The governour for himself and in name of the officers, answered that he was most willing to give up the castle of Morpeth upon such terms as his excellence should think fitt to give, and they in honour could receave. Major Leg demanded what were these? the governour told him that the garrisone might martche out with drumms beating, colours flying, lighted matches, bullets in ther mouths, ther armes and baggadge, with what other ammunitione, armes, or furniture, was in the castle belonging to the garrisone or countrey about. Collonell Sibbald told the governour in some passione, that he could not have expected other conditions if he had rendered the castle upon the first summonds before ther was a shott made at it, or a drop of blood shed in the quarrell. The governour calmely replyed, he, if he had been soe regairdlesse of his honour and unfaithfull to his trust, had been altogither unworthy of any conditiones. Sir William Rollo, fearing Collonell Sibbald and the

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governour's heats might marre or retarde the speedy delivery of the castle, which was the thing he knew Montrose much desyred, and that because of his other pressing affairs relateing to the king's service, he tells the governour in few words, that they had in commissione in the first place, to offer them all ther lyves and liberties; secondly, that all the commissionat officers, with ther peculiar servants, should be licensed to martch out with ther armes, horses, and baggadge; thirdly, that all the souldiers should be permitted to martch out with ther pockmantles[1] on ther backs, and staves in ther hands, without trouble or molestatione, and should be convoyed by a gaird within two mylles of Berwick and left in safety; and farder, it should be in the optione of the officers either to goe along with ther souldiers or to ther armie as they pleased. These wer the conditiones, and noe others, he assured the governour the marques would give upon the rendering the castle, with all the armies, amunitione, and provisione, that was therin.

This being spocken in the hearing of the principall officers belonging to the garrisone, the go-

[1] Portmanteaus or knapsacks.

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vernour called them asyde to know how they relished the terms of surrender; all of them wer of the judgement, that, seing the castle could be noe longer defended, they behooved to accept of such conditions as the enemie would give, and they thought these proffered (considering the dammadge they had receaved from ther holding out) was such as in reasone they could expect. The governour finding his officers of this judgement, resolves to accept of the conditiones, which he instantly did, whereupon the articles of surrender was presently sent furth to the Marques of Montrose, which he subscribed, and then returned them by the same gentleman, being Captaine M^{c}Culloch; they wer eftir subscryved by the governour, Sir William Rollo, Collonell Sibbald, Major Leg, Captaine M^{c}Culloch, Captaine M^{c}Dougall, Captaine Cunninghame, and Captaine Meinzies.

Thus, Morpeth Castle, eftir twentie dayes seidge, counting from the enemies first comeing before it, with ther losse of one major, three captaines, three leivtennents, four ensignes, and hundreth and eightie souldiers, and the expence of two hundreth cannon shotts, was rendered to the Marques of Montrose (upon the conditiones alreddy mentioned) be Leivetennant-collonell So-

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mervill, then governour thereof, with the losse only of twentieth men, one ensigne, and two drummers; for amunitione ther was but little left in the castle, and less provisione; ther fyre armes few, and sprung, and these for the tyme useless: soe that this gentleman, with these few gallant men, officers, and souldiers, in defence of this pitiefull house, gave the Marques of Montrose more worke, and made him sustaine in a few dayes farre greater losse, then the covenanters did the year insuing with all ther great armies, over whom, in sex pitched feilds, he victoriously tryumphed to his eternall praise, and the everlasting ignominie of them and all rebellious subjects, such as they then wer, under whom this gentleman acted, by vertue of his commissione floweing from ther usurped authoritie, which now to his good fortune (because of his then supposed misfortunes) became extinct, and freed him from the service of a factious and giddie crew, whose ungratitude to ther ablest souldiers and greatest benefactors was as conspicuous and nottour as ther rebellione.[1]

[1] The piece of service upon which our author dwells at so great length is very briefly dispatched by Bishop Wishart, in his Memoirs of Montrose.

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The garrisone haveing martched out about ten a clock, upon the twentie-nynth of May, 1644, the governor caused Captaine M^cCulloch delyver up the keyes of the castle to Major Leg, who had orders from the Marques of Montrose to receave them, and to martche in ane English garrisone which remained there but a few dayes; the castle being noe wayes nor in a conditione to endure a seidge, the same standing directly in the way of the Scots armies martch to England, they might be confident in a few weeks to have had a seidge clapt to them, thairfore, haveing farder slighted these few fortificationes that was left unruined within or about the castle, they deserted the same, and martched the garrisone thereof to Newcastle.

The same day the castle was delyvered up, the Marques of Montrose was pleased to invite the late governour and his four captaines to dine with him at his quarters, then within the toune of Morpeth, which they accepted off. A little before the table was drawne, ther comes a gentleman belonging to the governour, and rounds him in the ear, that his souldiers being drawen out, attending ther convoy, the English foot had barbarously fallen upon them, beat them with the butts of ther musquets, and had not only ta-

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ken from them ther cloak bags, but also shamefully stripped severall of the souldiers to ther shirts; this was surprizeing to the governour, that immediately his countenance changed soe that the wholl table took notice thereof, but more particularly the Marques of Montrose demanded of him what news he had receaved from that gentleman. "Such," sayes the governour, "as I am persuaded your excellence will not be weill pleased with, when you shall understand the articles of capitulatione are fully broken." "What," says the marques in great passione, "who durst break any of them?"—"This gentleman will inform your excellence;" which, when he had done, the marques immediately ryses from the table, and calles for the English officers, commanding them instantly to repair to ther respective companies, and cause to be delyvered back whatever ther souldiers had taken from the garrisone souldiers, and that upon ther highest perrill, as they would answer to him. These officers, who were truly generous, and had no accessione to that barbarity, wer much ashamed at ther souldiers insolencie; thairfore they wer not only resolved to cause them make restitutione of what they had plundered, but also to punish them severely; but they came a litle

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too late to cause them to make restitutione, much of what they had taken being put out of the way; however, what the officers could come by was re-delyvered, and the takers soundly punished, notwithstanding such of the garrisone souldiers as lost all to ther very cloaths, made such ane hydeous out-cry, as indeede they had some reasone, if they had not fomented a world of lyes in misrepresenting ther governour's conduct and care of ther preservatione, which now by ther unjust clamour was much doubted off by the bad conditione these souldiers was in when they returned to ther oune countrey,[1] and yet this gentleman's greatest enemies could not but acknowledge that the articles of capitulatione was as much conceaved in favour of the souldiers as the officers, notwithstanding of ther misfortune, which many tymes upon such unhappy circumstances as then occurred is unavoydable, for it's beyond all cavill, that the governour's capitulatione with Montrose was the same as is

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[1] Bishop Wishart, as appears from the preceding quotation from his Memoirs of Montrose, conceives the plunder had been authorised by Montrose. The original Latin bears "*Prædam omnem Anglis permisit.*"—*De rebus gestis sub imperio Montisrosarum Marchionis, Amsterdam*, 1648.

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related, for the principall coppie, subscryved by the marques and the governour, was upon his returne to Scotland produced to the committie of estates, and then upon his goeing to England to have a counsell of warre held upon him, there to exhibit the same capitulatione before them, to the great satisfactione of all his weill wishers. But of this eftirward.[1]

Lievetennent-collonell Somervill in two dayes haveing come from the toune of Morpeth to Edinburgh, upon his oune horses, he paid his first respects to his cussing the Earle of Lauderdale,[2] who informed him how much he was cryed out upon by the ignorant multitude, and even censured by the more intelligent, in leaveing his souldiers a prey to the enemie, for which he was affrayed he should be called shortly to ane account; but for himself he had suspended his judgement untill he was informed of the whole affair from his oune mouth, which he hoped he

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[1] Bishop Wishart mentions an important article, omitted by our author, namely, that the garrison gave their parole never again to bear armes against the king. "*Accepta fide nunquam contra Regem militaturos*," p. 31.

[2] Afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, and minister of Scotland under Charles II.

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would now doe with much candour and sincerity, according to all the severall circumstances that occurred during the seidge, and the terms whereupon he had rendered the castle. Being satisfied in all this by his cussing Drum, (for soe I must now designe him, albeit his commissione as lievetennent-collonell to the Colledge of Justice ther regiment was not yet given up,) Lauderdale was much satisfied with the relatione, and assured him of his oune freindship, and to imploy his interest with others when the businesse came to ane hearing before the committie of estates, which it did eftir a few dayes.

Somervill being called by the chancellor, in a short discourse told him ther was many complaints exhibite against him, not only by the common souldiers, but also by some of his oune inferiour officers, as if he had altogither neglected them, and only provyded for his oune and his captaines securitie, which, if true, was highly punishable by the marshall law, to which he was to be referred; for them they wer to challenge him upon ane other account, which, if made out, amounted to noe lesse then the forfaulter of his lyfe and fortune. Here Somervill somewhat hastiely interrupted the chancellor, asking, And what may that be, my lord chancellor? "In

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keeping intelligence and in being intertained and familiarly conversing with a declared traitor to this state; Sir, your giveing up of Morpeth Castle, and the unworthy useing of our souldiers, has given us too much ground to suspect you are now become a favourer of that malignant party, and ther head, James Grahame, whom ye pretend to have fairly capitulated with for the venditione of Morpeth Castle, which the committie desyres you may now produce before them." Somervill upon this drawes out the subscryved articles of capitulatione, and delyvers them to then clerk to the committie of estates, and withall sayes to the chancellor, "My lord, you challenge me of haveing keeped intelligence with Montrose, and being now a favourer of the malignant party; when these crymes are lybelled against me, and the process brought in, I shall answer the same before this high court, to whom I am only countable; for what concerns Morpeth, your lordship sayes I am referred to a counsell of warre, whereunto I shall goe by your lordship's permissione, and submitt myself." Haveing sayed this, he gives a congie to the wholl house, and then retears.

Eftir he went furth, the articles of capitula-

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tione being read, some carped at one thing, and some at another, and most of them knew not at what; but the high and mighty designatione the Marques of Montrose had given him by his sacred majestie, mentioned in the narrative of the capitulatione, gave such a knell to ther black consciences, as fearing the sword wherewith he was intrusted and authorized by his royall master might reatche ther necks some day, as it did shortly thereftir, the carcasses of many officers, and thousands of souldiers, that faught under ther rebellious standards; and soe much the more pittie, that the great pirrats, robbers, and ruiners of ther countrey's liberty should soe easely have escaped. But this gentleman had his freinds in the house, who assured the committie ther could never be any thing made out of his keeping intelligence with the enemies of the state, and that it was but a meer calumny intended out of a revenge, to blacken his reputatione; and for his being intertained and converseing with Montrose upon such ane occasion it was inevitable, nor could he doe lesse then returne civilitie for civilitie, being then in a manner his prisoner. These insinuations of his freinds, with remembrance of his former services, brought him off before the committie of estates, that he

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was never more challenged for these supposed crymes; however, he was enacted by a sentence to repaire to the armie, and attend the generall's commands, whereunto he willingly submitted, and soe, thanking ther lordships, he was dismissed.

This gentleman, in obedience to the committie's orders, setts furth from Leith the latter end of June, to goe by sea to Holl, (travelling by land to the armie being then hazardsome, in regaird of the king's forces that was now draweing doune toward the north, for the releiff of Yorke, which was then beseidged by the Scots and parliament armies,) where he arrives in a few dayes, and soe posts to the armie, which, with ther confederates, was then in expectationes of a battle, as the same fell out four dayes eftir this gentleman's arryveall, who, haveing found out the generall's quarters, he delyvers to him the committie of estates ther sentence and command in reference to himself, and then severall letters from particular persons relateing to the generall's private concernse, both which he receaves with a smylling countenence, and withall sayes, "You know by experience the fortune of a souldier ever was and is subject to various accidents, and in nothing more then eftir all ther toylles, hazards,

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and losses, to have ther best actions misrepresented to those whom they serve; but he hoped, eftir tryall, it should be found he had been faithfull to his trust, and discharged the duty of a good souldier." Somervill, much by his expectationes, finding the generall expresse himself soe favourably, he first thanks his excellence for his kynde receptione, and then of the good opinione he had of his mean performances, only he was sorry that his excellence was not ane eye witnesse to this last, as weill as he had been to some former service done be him for the estates of Scotland, under his excellency's command. "Sir," sayes the generall, "I was ever confident you would doe nothing unworthie of yourself, and I beleived none of these reports that come to my ears; however, according to the committie's delyverience, and your oune desyre, a counsell of warre shall be called to-morrow, which shall consist of soe many persones of honour as ye need not doubt of justice from them."

The day being come, and many officers conveened, ther was choosen out of them for the counsell of warre fyve collonells, five lieveten-nent-collonells, fyve majors; ther names are as follows, viz. George Earle of Dalhoussie, his oune collonell, Collonell the Lord Sinclair, Col-

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lonell Home, Collonell Innes, Collonell Wallace, Lievetennent-colonell Whytehead, Lievetennent-collonell Cunninghame, Lievetennent-collonell Livingstone, Lievetennent-collonell Maxwell, Major Hamiltone, Major Weddell, formerly one of his oune captaines, Major Frazer, Major Hay, and Major Home: these being noblemen and gentlemen of much honour and knoune integrity, he excepted against non of them. The counsell being set, Dalhousie presided, (for it was in his tent they sat) Leivetennent-collonell Somervill was presently called, who had noe lybell exhibit against him, nor accussers present; ther was only a few questions put to him, as how long he keeped out the castle of Morpeth eftir it was blocked up, what quantitie of powder, lead, and matche, he had spent dureing the seidge, how many assaults and stormes he had endured, and what loss the enemies had sustained; and lastly, they desired he would satisfie them anent the conditione of his surrender, for therein, by a current report, and the bad usuage of his souldiers, he was much blamed. To all the first four questiones he answered particularly to ther satisfactione, two of his captaines, then present, asserting it to be a truth what he had spoken in his oune vindica-

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tione, as others of his officers had given it under ther hands; and for the last questione, which was the main of his accusatione, and gave ground to these many misreports, he spoke nothing, as thinking it sufficient to produce the articles of capitulatione for his full exoneratione, which being first read openly by the clerk, and then handed doune from one member of the counsell to another, they wer astonished to find soe much innocency calumniated by the reports of naughtie men. Eftir the sight of the capitulatione, the members satt mute, untill Sir James Maxwell, Laird of Calderwood, then leivetennent-collonell to the Earle of Lanerk his regiment of foot, and one of this counsell of warre, ryses up and sayes, "If ye have nothing else to accuse this gentleman upon nor what has been heard, let him depart in peace," whereat the wholl counsell laughed very heartily, knowing the humour of this gentleman to be very free and ingenuous.

The counsell being satisfied in all ther demands, and ther being no persones as accusers compearing against this gentleman, he was by ther sentence found to have acquit himself faithfully in his charge, as became a persone of honour and ane able souldier; being ryseing, all of

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them took him by the hand, as did many other officers of his acquaintence, who wer attending without the tent to know the issue of this affair, which now being seen and heard, they were exceeding glad of his good fortune.

The day eftir this gentleman was assolzied by the counsell of warre, which was the third of July, 1644, he comes to kisse the generall's hand, and to delyver up his commissione, being resolved for the future not to bear armes in oppositione to his majestie, or these in authoritie under him, but to live peaceably upon his oune private fortune, untill he saw the issue of that unhappy warre which was now soe vigorously followed by both parties. Soe soon as he had entered the tent, in order to the makeing of his addresse, the generall was pleased to carrasse him at ane unusual rate, before many officers that was ther attending for orders, which he returned with many expressions of thanks, and proffers of his future service in another capacity. The generall desyred to know what he meaned by that last expressione, for he hoped that he was not now to dispute his countrey's service and the good cause, when both the counsell and assistance of all ther officers was soe necessary. "I have been soe unfortunate, my lord," replyed this gentleman, "in both my

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last commands for the state, I am fully resolved not to hazard the third tyme; thairfore, as I receaved my commissione from your excellence, soe I returne the same with infinate thanks." The generall urged him much to retaine it, and then proffered him the command of a regiment of foot, seing his oune in a manner was broken, by haveing lost fyve compleat companies at Morpeth, and these seven with the armie were much diminished by the negligence of ther captaines, the want of authoritie and prudence in ther major, experience and tyme in ther collonell, then the Lord Sinclair, that had other great concerns both of the state and armie upon his hands, that he had not lasure to look eftir the right ordering and standing of the regiment, wherin he but litle concerned himself when his lievetennent-collonell was upon the head thereof.

The generall finding this gentleman possitive neither to retaine nor yet to accept of any other command, he takes back his commissione, and withall told him he was sorry to losse a souldier of his worth and experience; however, he hoped, seing they wer in expectatione to fight the enemie the next or ensuing dayes, he would not leave them untill he saw the event of the battle, that soe he might carry home, as he trusted, the

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acceptable news of a glorious victory to the estates of Scotland. This, of himself, he was willing enough unto without any invitatione, as not haveing of a long tyme seen a feild battle. It fell out as the generall expected; for Prince Robert, with the joint forces of the Marques of Newcastle and Generall King's, haveing raised the seidge of Yorke, victualled the citty, and strenthened that garrisone, forceing the confederat armies to retire some mylles from that loyall citty, which indeed was his grand businesse, and ought to have been his only worke at that tyme, and that very acceptable service too for his majestie, considering how he was then staited in the south, by haveing ruined Essex his armie for the parliament. But Prince Robert would not content himself with what he had done, but would needs over-act in forceing the parliament's armies to a present engadgement, whereas a few dayes want of furrage and bread would have sent them farre enough a-packing, and forced these three armies to have seperate, now joyned togither, under the command of Generall Lesslie for the Scots, the Earle of Manchester and Sir Thomas Fairfox for the parliament of England, all of whom wer willing to have declyned fighting at that tyme, but that the prince pressed hard

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upon them upon the fourth of July, 1644, some few hours before sun-sett. The order of this great battle, wherein both armies was neer of an equal number, consisting to the best calculatione neer to threescore thousand men upon both sydes, I shall not take upon me to descryve; albeit from the draughts then taken upon the place, and informatione I receaved from this gentleman, who being then a volunteer, as haveing noe command, had opportunitie and libertie to ryde from the one wing of the armie to the other, to view all ther severall squadrons of horse and battalions of foot, how formed, and in what manner drawen up, with every other circumstance relateing to this fight, and that both as to the king's armies and that of the parliament's, amongst whom, untill the engagement, he went from statione to statione to observe ther order and forme, but that the descriptione of this battell, with the various success upon both sydes at the beginning, with the losse of the royall armie, and the sad effects that followed that missefortune as to his majesties interest, has been so often done allready by English authors, litle to our commendatione, how justly I shall not dispute, seing the truth is, as our principall generall fled that night neer fourtie mylles from the place of the fight,

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that part of the armie where he commanded being totally routed; but it is as true, that much of the victorie is attributed to the good conduct of David Lesslie, lievetennent-generall of our horse. Cromwell himself, that minione of fortune, but the rod of God's wrath, to punish eftirwards three rebellious nationes, disdained not to take orders from him, albeit then in the same qualitie of command for the parliament, as being leivetennent-generall to the Earle of Manchester's horse, whom, with the assistance of the Scots horse, haveing routted the prince's right wing, (as he had done that of the parliament,) these two commanders of the horse upon that wing, Leslie and Cromwell wisely restrained the great bodies of ther horse from persewing these brocken troupes, but wheeling to the left hand, falls in upon the naked flanks of the prince's main battallione of foot, carrying them doune with great violence; nether met they with any great resistance, untill they came to the Marquis of Newcastle his battalione of whyte coats, who first peppering them soundly with ther shot, when they came to charge stoutly bore them up with ther picks, that they could not enter to break them. Here the parliament horse of that wing

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receaved ther greatest losse, and a stop for some tyme to ther hoped-for victorie, and that only by the stout resistence of this gallant battalione, which consisted neer of four thousand foot, untill at length a Scots regiment of dragounes, commanded by Collonell Frizeall, with other two, was brought to open them upon some hand, which at lenth they did; when all ther ammunitione was spent, haveing refused quarters, every man fell in the same order and rank wherein he had foughten.

Be this executione was done, the prince returned from the persuite of the right wing of the parliament's horse, which he had beaten, and followed too farre, to the losse of the battle, which certainly in all men's opinione he might have carried, if he had not been too violent upon the persuite, which gave his enemies upon the left hand opportunitie to disperse and cut down his infantrie, who, haveing cleared the feild of all the standing bodies of foot, were now, with many of ther oune standing, ready to receave the charge of his almost spent horses, if he should attempt it, which the prince observeing, and seeing all lost, he retreated to Yorke, with two thousand horse; notwithstanding of this, ther

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was that night such a consternatione in the parliament armies, that it's believed by most of these that wer there present, that if the prince, haveing soe great a bodie of horse inteire, had made ane onfall that night, or the ensuing morning betyme, he had carried the victory out of their hands; for it's certaine, by the morning's light he had rallied a bodie of ten thousand men, whereof ther was neer three thousand gallant horse. These, with the assistance of the toune and garrisone of Yorke, might have done much to have recovered the victorie; for the losse of this battell in effect lost the king and his interest in the three kingdomes, his majesty never being able eftir this to make head in the north, but lost his garrisone every day.

As for Generall Lesslie, in the beginning of this fight haveing that part of the armie quyte brocken where he had placed himself by the valour of this prince, he immagined, and was confirmed by the opinione of others then upon the place with him, that the battle was irrecoverablie lost, seing they wer fleeing upon all hands, thairfore they humbly intreated his excellence to retear, and wait his better fortune, which without farther advyseing he did, and never drew bridle untill he came the lenth of Leads, haveing rid-

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den all that night with a cloak of drop the berrie[1] about him, belonging to this gentleman of whom I wryte, then in his retinue, with many other officers of good qualitie. It was neer twelve the next day before they had the certainty who was master of the feild, when at lenth there arrives an expresse, sent by David Lesslie, to acquaint the generall they had obtained a most glorious victory, and that the prince with his brocken troups was fled from Yorke. This intelligence was somewhat amazeing to these gentlemen that had been eye-witnesses to the disorder of the armie before ther retearing, and had then accompanied the generall in his flight, who being much wearyed that evening of the battell, with ordering of his armie, and now quyte spent with his long journey in the night, had casten himself doune upon a bed to rest, when this gentleman comeing quietly into the room, he awoke, and hastily cryes out, "Lievetennent-collonell, what newes?"—"All is safe, may it please your excellence, the parliament's armyes has obtained a great victory," and then delyvers the letter. The generall upon the hearing of

[1] *Drap de Berry*—a particular kind of cloth.

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this, knocked upon his breast, and sayes, " I would to God I had dyed upon the place," and then opens the letter, which in a few lines gave ane account of the victory, and in the close pressed his speedy returne to the armie, which he did the next day, being accompanyed some mylles back by this gentleman, who then takes his leave of him, and receaved at parting many expressions of kyndenesse, with promises that he would never be unmyndefull of his care and respect towards him, and in the end he intreats him to present his service to all his friends and acquaintances in Scotland. Thereftir the generall setts foirward in his journey for the armie, as this gentleman did for in order to his transportatione for Scotland, where he arrived sex dayes eftir the fight of Long Mestoune Moor, and gave the first true account and descriptione of that great battell, wherein the covenanters gloryed so much that they impiously boasted the Lord had now signally appeared for his cause and people; it being ordinary for them, dureing the wholl tyme of this warre, to attribute ther great successe to the goodnesse and justice of their cause, untill Divyne Justice trysted them with some crosse dispensatione, and then you might have heard this language from them, that it pleased the

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Lord to give his oune the heavyest end of the tree to bear, that the saints and people of God must still be sufferers whille they are here away; that that malignant party was God's rod to punish them for their unthankfullnesse, which, in the end, he will cast into the fyre, with a thousand other expressions and scripture citationes, profanely and blasphemously uttered by them, to palliate ther villanie and rebellione, and keep up the reputatione of ane ill cause, which now about this tyme men was beginning to suspect, because of the dreadfull aspect it carried towards his majesties sacred persone, and the bad influence it was lyke to have upon the ancient established government of these kingdomes, which fell out shortly thereftir, to the sad regrate of the present, and sorrowfull rememberance of the generatione to come. But I proceed to the remaining part of this gentleman's memory, haveing again brought him to live a countrey gentleman.

Being freed of his military imployment, he settles himself at his dwelling-house of Drum, and lookes eftir his private affairs, which the fyve preceding years he had not much concerned himself with, as haveing left the care thereof to his vertuous lady, which she manadged to his

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utillitie and advantage, ther small estate being not only free of debt, but they had put some money to the foir, which at first they imployed weill, if they had continued soe. Of this I shall give you ane account in *anno* 1647. From Jully 1644, that he returned from England, ther nothing occurred in his private affairs worthy the noticing. In the latter end of September he is again called by his masters, the committie of estates, to put about his sword, not now as one of ther commissionat officers, (that he had absolutely refuised both to ther generall and to themselves,) but as a countrey gentleman, he is with the rest of the heretors of Mid-Louthian, commanded furth against the Marquis of Montrose, that noble heroe, with whom, some few months preceeding this, he had been engadged in a hotter dispute, more to his honour, every circumstance being considered, then this expeditione proved to the undertakers. However, the occasion was this: The Marques of Montrose comeing to the king some few dayes eftir the losse of that unfortunate battell of Long Merstone Muir, haveing condolled the unhappy success of that day, he assured his majesty it was not in his power to doe him farder service in the north of

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England, seing all that countrey was now brought under the subjectione of the parliament's forces, and his rebellious countreymen, whom, by the blessing of God and his majesties licence, he resolved to divert, and make them imploy ther armies att home, he hoped not with the same succesee they had done in England. This was profetically spocken by the marques, for it proved soe the same and succeeding years, as you may read at lenth in the history written of that nobleman's life, which being full as to all his particular actings in that warre and eftirward, I shall not touch upon them, but only acquaint you upon his comeing doune to St Johnstone. Our committie of estates was so startled with his first appearance, that they convocate most of the gentry and commons, upon both sydes of the river of Forth, to oppose ane handfull of men that the marques had with him, and most of these but lately arryved from Ireland, sent by the Earle of Antrum for his majesties service in this kingdom, to be commanded by Montrose, who finding this convocatione at St Johnstone's numerous, (wherof the gentleman and his attendants made a part) he openly, in the face of ther great armie, fairly and safely retreats his oune to the hills, the ene-

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mies horse faintly following his rear at some distance.

The covenanters haveing parted with them soe peaceably, supposeing they had put Montrose to his winter quarters, they dissipate ther great armie, and sends back the gentrie and commons to ther severall dwellings, retaineing only a select number of souldiers under expert officers, and some few noblemen, which gave the committie of estates noe small hopes they would beat James Grahame not only out of the Highlands, but out of the world; however, they reckoned without their host, and triumphed before the victory. The same noble persone to whom they denyed his just and deserved titles of honour, within a few weeks, by his valour and conduct, laid ther honour and many of ther carcasses in the dust, by a notable victory obtained against them with a few naked men, with whom, being better armed by this victory, and taught the true discipline of warre, he acted wonders, to the astonishment of all to whom the report of his success came, which he still improved upon every occasione, untill he was deserted by some of his best freinds, and basely betrayed by these noblemen that stood most obleidged to the king's

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bountie and favour and particular courtesies conferred upon them, which, in this one act of betraying of his counsell, and forbearing to join with him according to ther solemne promises and engadgements, now when his majesties service soe necessarly and soe importunately requyred it, gave evidence of the greatest ingratitude and falsehood men can be guilty off. This falling out the succeeding year, and this gentleman noe wayes concerned in the wholl course of Montrose his victories, or at his defeat att Philliphaugh, he being neither for nor against them, (except in the expeditione of Saint Johnstone, now dissolved,) I shall wave the discourse thereof, and returne him again to his domestick affairs, wherein I find litle worth the noticing, but that in the year 1645, soe prodigiously unlucked to the covenanters, as haveing both the hand of God and man against them, this gentleman had his fourth daughter borne to him much about the tyme that David Lesslie (eftirward upon his majesties restauratione made Lord Neworke,) was, with the flower of the Scots cavillry, then in the parliament of England's service, hastily called furth from that kingdom by our committie of estates, many of whom were fled to Berwick, and

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others to the remotest strenths of this natione, upon the Marques of Montrose his gaineing that notable victory at Killsyth, where the slayne upon the covenanter's syde exceeded the number of Montrose his wholl armie by one thousand, ther being left dead upon the place upwards of sex thousand men. This victory, as it made Montrose absolute master of the feild, soe should it have put in his hand the principall strenths of this kingdome, if the plague, which then raged in most of our citties, had not hindered the martcheing of his armie before them; however, the terror of his name, and successe of his armes, prevailled soe farre upon ther dejected spirits, that what prisoners belonging to him, and inclosed within ther walls, they willingly gave up without randsome or exchange, upon his simple desyre, soe much vertue and power ther is in a gallant and active commander, as to make his enemies even dread him at a distance. The circumstance of that battell, and that which followed with David Lesslie, I passe over in silence, according to my promise, only here I must take notice, that David Lesslie had made the first mustering of his forces eftir his comeing to Scotland, (which consisted only of horse and dra-

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gounes) upon Gledesmuire,[1] the gentrie of the three Lothians, Tweddell, Tiviot, and the Merse, went there to waitt upon him, whither by command from the committie of estates, or of their oune accord, I cannot say; but amongst others, this gentleman and his eldest sone,[2] being then thretteine years of age, gave ther attendance, it being the first armie ever this youth saw, and the commander thereof his relatione, by the house of Cambusnethen; he was pleased to take particular notice both of the father and sone, and to wellcome them to the feild by expressiones of great kyndenesses and much respect, and that before many persons of qualitie and several hundreths of the gentry, that there payed ther respects to him, and attended his orders, whom, when he had saluted, and for some short space consulted with ther grandies, he dismissed, but not before he had shewn them his litle armie of horse and dragounes, gallantly mounted, and in ther compleat armour, first formed in severall brigads, and then drawen up in battallzie, as if they had been presently to charge the enemie.

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[1] Near Tranent, and not far from the field of battle where Sir John Cope was defeated by the Highlanders in 1745.

[2] The writer of the Memoirs.

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This sight, albeit it had nothing of danger in it for the tyme, was somewhat terrifying to most of the countrey gentlemen, that had never seen soe many horse imbodyed, nor the ryders soe armed, all of them haveing back, breast, and head pieces, appeared (as they really wer) the true sons of Mars, thirsting eftir blood and wounds, wherwith in a few dayes they wer glutted, for David Lesselie having martched from this randezvouze, had his intelligence sure from some traitors what way Montrose would take, and accordingly hastened to be up with him before the countrey came in as was promised, or that the marques should be able to secure his small armie (which consisted wholly of foot, except his oune life gaird and some few gentry,) either amongst the hills of in Galloway, or retreat them back, in order to a conjunctione with the rest of his forces, under the command of Sir Allaster M^{c}Donald, who had parted from him upon some discontent, when he removed his campe from Bothwell to his oune ruine, and Montrose his great losse; for albeit M^{c}Donald was noe great head-piece, yet was he ane able and stout souldier, and did good service to the king whylle he continued under the marquesses command, but

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haveing departed from him he soon lost himself and all his followers in Kintyre, shortly eftir the Marques of Montrose his defeat at Philliphaugh,[1] who, being surpryzed, through the false intelligence of his scouts, and a mistie morning that favoured the enemie, his little armie of foot was cut in peices eftir a stout resistance:[1] Montrose himself, with most of his horse, escaped to doe the king more service.

Posteritie will hardly beleive that persones of qualitie and souldiers of merite (soe opposite to the true principles of honour and value) should have been accessorie to soe much cruelty and bassenesse, as was practised upon all the prisoners eftir quarters given and life promised,[2] both

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[1] At Philiphaugh, upon the northern bank of the river Ettrick, nearly opposite to the town of Selkirk.

[2] A great number of the prisoners were drawn up and shot in the court-yard of Newark Castle, which is about two miles from the field of action. This act of barbarity has been doubted by historians, but the editor of this work witnessed a singular confirmation of its truth. A few years since, happening to pass a spot about half a mile from Newark, where labourers were employed in digging the foundation of a school-house, built by the present Duchess of Buccleuch, he was surprised at the great number of human bones thrown up in the operation. Upon enquiry he found the spot was called *Slain-Men's-Lea*, from having been the burial place of the prisoners made at Philip-

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upon the feild, in cool blood, and eftirwards upon scaffolds at Edenburgh, Glasgow, and Saint Andrews, to the everlasting ignomie and reproach of these that had any hand in these boutcheries, which I will forbear in particular to mentione (others haveing done it already to life), the same not being soe proper as to what I have in hand, makes me only note some few things passingly.

This syde the water of Forth being freed from the terrour of Montrose's arms, the nobility and gentry returned to ther dwellings as this gentleman did to his, wher he lived very happily with a vertuous lady and hopefull children, haveing a competent fortune to maintaine and provyde them with, if it should please God to call upon him; and now, as eftirward, it tended much to the peace of his oune conscience, and the honour of his ancient and ever loyall familie, that this year he had noe office in the state, nor any command in ther armies abroad or at home; for by the transactions this year, the real end of ther cove-

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haugh, and massacred at Newark. The bones certainly could not be the reliques of those killed in the action, as Philiphaugh is more than three miles distant, upon the other side of the river Yarrow.

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nanting appeared to all the world to be singularity and pride in the church, ambitione and factione in the state, basse unworthy cowardlynesse and avarice in the souldierie, or at least in these that commanded them. Pardone these hard terms comeing from a Scots gentleman of noe meane extractione, and one zealous enough for the honour of his natione, who willingly will hazard his life and fortune in defence of the just priviledges both of church and state, under that due subordinatione of royall authority att that tyme slighted; and his sacred person basely given up by all these formerly mentioned, to whom he came for safety and protectione; and whatever has been said in the pulpits by the presbyterian ministers to justifie this actione, or written by ther emissaries at that time, or since, in defence of the representatives of our church, state, and armie, as if they had been obleidged by ther league and covenant to give up the king's persone to the parliament of England, if the same should fall in ther hands; which, if true, (as it is ane notorious untruth from ther oune vindicationes eftirward written to satisfie the world in some measure, that houtted at them for that high act of injustice and basenesse), had been a selling of the boar's skinne whill it was yet on his back (with reverence be it spocken to

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the memorie of his sacred majestie). But soe farre was this from prosecuteing the designes pretended in ther covenant, as nothing under heaven could more retarde and destroy the very ends thereof, if they had truely meaned, as they had oftener then once solemnely swore: for by what article of the league and covenant was our representatives obleidged to enter upon any transactione with the parliament of England? As the king's persone, which, as it is sacred in itself, soe was it declared by the representatives of both nationes, that it was free for his majestie to come to any of his parliaments for accommodating all differences that was betwext them; and how often was he courted by messingers and commissioners sent to him for this purpose, especially in the beginning of the warre when matters went crosse with the parliament of England; and was it not the sad regrate of our church and state that ther proceedings was mis-represented to the king because of his being absent from them; and now, when beyond all men's expectatione, his majestie was pleased, with the hazard of his life, to bring his royall persone to ther armie for safety and protectione; and not only that (which was too much of itself), but, if rightly considered, the priviledges and royaltie of the

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independent and imperiall crowne of Scotland was concerned in this grand transactione for abstracting from the repeated oaths of ther covenant; all of them lay under ther naturall and nationall oaths of alleadgeances to the king and crowne, which no power in any representative of a church or state under heaven can make voyd, or dispence with the meanest priviledges thereto belonging; and if soe, by what authoritie, divyne or humane, durst they take upon them first to invert the ancient government of this kingdome, by acting without the king or his vicegerents; and now when his majestie had casten himself in the armes of ther armie, and might have been in a few hours present with the parliament of this his native and ancient kingdome of Scotland, they themselves, as unworthie of such a head, did not only forbid his comeing to them, but gave secret command to that prejudiced generall of ther mersinary armie, to put a restrainte upon his royall persone, that he had not the libertie to goe where he pleased, nor to converse with whom he would; and soe in effect he became prisoner to his oune vassalls, that in all honour, duty, and conscience, lay under the greatest obligationes and oaths to have preserved his sacred persone in freedome, ho-

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nour, and safetie, according to the expresse words of ther covenant, which they soe much indolized; but the truth is, they had so farre runne on in the course of rebellione, that they durst not trust to the clemency of the best of kings, that had trusted them with his life and honour; both which, in this unhappy juncture of affairs, was at the stake, and yet nothing regarded by them that should have had the deepest sence and feelling of any prejudice that might come unto his majestie by ther proceedings, now when the eyes of all the world was upon them, expecting how they would behave.

In this grand affair, it is true, never any natione that soe highly offended ther prince had a fairer oppertunitie to reconceall themselves to him, and make ther oune conditiones, if they had had soulls or consciences to have sought more nor what his majestie by his former concessiones had given unto them, before ther entering into the league and covenant, and ther last invadeing of England; but nether pardon for ther offences, nor benefits from the king, was that which they mynded to seek, nor intended; they lyked better to take remissiones for themselves and be ther oune pay-masters; the reins of government was sweet and lucrative, which now they had keeped

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without the authoritie, and in a manner without any forme of royaltie that they were subject to, and under a monarch, and that from the year 1638, to the year 1646. This they would not part with, albeit it was then but in the hands of a few of the ancient nobilitie, and meanest of the gentrie, such as Waristoune, Cheiselie, and , and these over and by the commissione of the kirk, and others of the clergy; most of them, if not all (except ther constant moderator, Mr Robert Douglas), spanned out of the dreggs of the people, whose pretended sanctitie gave them reputatione amongst the vulgar, who wer still ready, upon a call from ther pulpitts, for ane insurrectione; and againe the parliament of England had runne themselves soe farre in arriers to ther armie, and come short in paying the promised pensions to the great promotters of ther interest here, that they knew not how to be even with them without blowes; and that they lyked not, seing they hoped to come to ther oune in a fairer, I should have said a fouller way, by giveing up the king to the will and pleasure of the English parliament, that soe they might come by ther money; and yet for all the securitie given them, they wer cheated in more than the one half, and that deservedly too, for let the presbytereans at

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this day talke what they please, it was but the pryce of blood most unconsionably shed, albeit ther had not one drop of his sacred majesties blood been spilt, which this unworthie and unhappy transactione gave the first oppertunity unto, to the sad regrete of many thousands, and the great reproach of our natione and armie, which noe tyme can obliterate.

I am not ignorant what pains our representatives was at to adjust ther proceedings to the letters of ther covenant, least they should have been houtted att by all the world for acting soe contrary thereto; and therefore ther was never a more perfect representatione of Babell, then the articles agreed upon for delyvering up the king, each of them confounding another, and all of them lyable to a different significatione from what they expressed in words, which the independent faction in the English parliament shortly there eftir, and then ther armie, took advantage off, and outbraided the outwitted presbytereans both at home amongst themselves, and in this kingdome, whose greatest sorrow and regrete was, that they should have parted with the king before ther two hundred thousand pounds sterling, which they pretended to more nor what had been payed doune to them in ready coyne;

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and indeed our states and armie had reasone for this, and for a losse infinately beyond all the advantages they could have promised themselves from this unworthy actione. For let men but impartially consider the state of affairs, then they will find, that ther was neither obligatione nor necessity lay upon our natione or armie, to have parted with the king, untill both the kingdomes had been reduced to that calme temper they wer in, before the breaking forth of that unnatural warre, which easely might have been effectuated, if his majestie had first come to Scotland (where the unhappy differences first began), and settled, by his presence and authoritie, our church government formerly consented to by him, and which wanted nothing but a right constituted parliament, without inforcement and clamour, to confirm the same, and with all the civill judicatories in form and order they wer formerly in. What influence this might have had upon the parliament of England, men may easely conjecture; for they that wer soe ready to acquiesse in all things at the beginning, would undoubtedly have followed us in this, that tended soe much to the peace and happynesse of ther oune natione, now harrassed by the quartering and plundering of the soulderie of both parties; and if a

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prevailing factione in the parliament or armies, then on foot, should have dared to withstand the motione of peace proposed by the king and our parliament, they could not but in all probability (if God had not determined the contrary) but have smerted soundly for ther presumptione and arrogancy, in obstructing soe great a blessing to three nationes; and this may the more easiely be beleaved, if wee considder how our natione and armie was then stated. Wee had the king on our syde, wee wer absolute masters of the three northland counties, with the greatest part of Yorke shyre, and the principall garrisones belonging to them was in our custody; wee had a gallant armie full and compleat, weill trayned by long experience in the warres, under the command of brave officers fitted for that imployment, iff ther soulls had been great enough to have withstood that one act of giveing up the king, which blackened all ther requyred glory both abroad and at home, and soe blunted ther swords, that eftirward, when they came to act cordially for the king, God would neither honour officers nor souldiers to stryke one fair strocke for his majestie in the day of battell, whereunto I was often ane eye-witness, to the great greiffe of my

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hearte, to see soe many brave men cut doune in a manner without fighting, in all the severall rencounters wee had with the English, whill the seat of warre was in Scotland. It is true, at Wouster, a handfull of gallant men truly noble and generous, and purged from phanaticks rebells, acted more against a numerous armie of sectarians there conveened for ther destructione, which they effectuate, to ther oune great losse, then all our great armies did in Scotland, while in conjunctione with the disaffected party amongst ourselves.

And our haveing an armie in the north of England, and the garrisones in our keeping, was not all; his majestie was yet in possessione off many strong holds in other places of England; nether was his fources in the feilds at this tyme soe brocken, but if our natione and armie had declared for his majestie, they would have quickly appeared in the feild with ane armie farre stronger then ever they had been since the beginning of the warre; and upon that account, as upon the former considerations, our natione might have perswaded themselves the parliament of England would never have been soe mad as to have entered upon a second warre, upon soe unequall terms, now when they should have the wholl

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kingdome of Scotland att the tyme full of men, money, and armes; the greatest part of England, and the farre greatest part of Ireland ouneing his majesties interest, and ready to fight under his bannors, haveing his royall persone upon ther head, and for ther encouragement, a considerable number of the fleet was then commanded by the prince, his sone, soe that in all humane probabilitie, as I have said allready, if matters had not come to ane accomodatione, the parliament of England, and such as should have adhered to them, could not but have come quickly to ruine, and that deservedly, for their obstinacy in rebellione, now when all differences might have been easiely removed in ane peaceable and amicable way, to the satisfactione of both nations, and all others concerned in this unhappy warre since the beginning therof.

By this digressione, which hath not been my ordinary, by which I hope I have made it appear ther was neither obligatione nor necessitie lay upon these of our natione, that had usurped the government of the church, state, and armie, to delyver up the king for the English parliament; but, on the contrary, by all the tyes of Christianity, they wer obleidged in concience by ther alleadgeance and ther oune covenant, to have re-

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stored him to the exercise of his royall authoritie in ther oune natione, and to have used ther utmost endeavours to have established the king in that of England's; especially seing they wer mainely instrumentall of his losseing his soveraigne power there, to ther great reproach and shame, which I am affrayed no time will obliterate soe, but it will be a speacking evidence even against the posteritie of these that had the greatest hand therin, and that either in the church, state, or armie, for all combyned and assented to that base transactione, never to be mentioned but with the horrours and detestatione of all loyall and true-hearted Scots men, which God make us allwayes myndefull and sencible off, that wee may hereaftir shunne all appearances of factions tending to rebellione against our sovereign lord the king that now is, or his successors, in the legall and lineall successione of the royall lyne of the Stewarts, which God of his mercy ever mentained against all usurpers to ther shame and confussione.

When all articles in this unhappy transactione was adjusted to ther severall ends, (which, like Sampsone's foxes, for mischief, had ther tailles tied together, albeit ther heads looked severall wayes), our covenanters that had been frighted

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out of ther witts by the prodigious successe of Montrose's armes the preceeding year, and even then threatning them with a new storme from his conquering sword, that thirsted for revangeing of soe much loyall blood unjustly spilt, upon the ignominious scaffolds, against the lawes of armes, and custome of the most barbarous nations under heaven, (canniballs only excepted,) whom in some respects our covenanters did resemble, by devouring the fortunes of these they had slaughtered upon ther scaffolds, and forced to flee the countrey to prevent the just resentment of soe great ane enemie to ther proceedings; they dealt with the king to recall Montrose his commissione, which to please them, he did, beleaveing still that they would never part with his persone untill all things wer settled in a peaceable manner, and the armies of both nationes disbanded, which now his good subjects groaned under, because of ther free quarter and plundering, whereof our armie was not a little guiltie, if wee may beleeve what is alledged by English authors; and indeed what would these men not doe, that haveing swords by ther sydes, armes in ther hands, artillarie not a few, with abundence of amunitione, seven years experience in the warres, lusty and healthfull bodies,

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able to undergoe the greatest fatigue, and to undertake the noblest of actiones, by so many advantages which did at that tyme conduce, and in a manner offer themselves for ther ouneing his majesties interest; for such ane armie soe stated, calmely to part with ther native prince to these they knew intended his ruine, and of themselves, wer but a prevailling factione in a natione that could not pretend the same interest in his royall persone, as ther oune might have done, was ane actione of soe much bassenesse and cowardlynesse as noe pen can expresse, nether yet has ther any of ther oune party had the confidence to appear in print to vindicate this actione. For my oune part, I wyte it with sad regrate, that men of great honour and gallantrie (as most of the officers of that armie wer) should have had accessione to, or countenanced by ther presence and consent, the upgiveing of the king upon any terms whatsoever, which albeit shortly therefter they became senceible of, yet that will never vindicate ther reputatione, nor free them from being branded to all posterity with the hatefull name of traitors to ther prince, and countrey too, for thereby it also suffered both lose and shame, which noe eftir actione of thers could ever repair; but it is, and ever will be, a re-

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proach to our wholl natione, soe that the murderers of our prince outbraided our natione and armie with it when they invaded Scotland in *anno* 1650, alleadgeing they had bought the king, and therfore might dispose of him as they pleased, without breatch of covenant or being countable to a natione that had sold ther interest in him, and this deservedly wee had from ther hands, whom wee had soe faithfully (but faithlesse to his majestie) served to ruine the king and his interest, to our oune undoeing, within a few years thereftir.

This sad subject has carried me farre beyonde my accustomed brevitie, in rehearsing a few of the principall occurances of that tyme, but I hope all honest men will pardone the digressione, seing it came so oppertunely in my way to give a testimony against the proceedings of our church, state, and armie, in that affair, never to be mentioned but with abhorance of all loyall subjects and good country men, as I trust wee shall be for the future, haveing had the sorrowful experience of such unconscionable proceedings against the best of monarchs in the world; but now I proceed to the remaineing part of this gentleman's memorie, whom I find the latter end of this year, and all the next winter, to have made

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his dwelling att Edenburgh, because his children, being seven, three sons and four daughters, wer now capable of breeding, which he was carefull to give them according to ther qualitie. God haveing given all of them the first blessing, beautie and proportione, he was not wanting to doe his duty in instructing them in humane literature; wherein his two youngest sons, Hugh and Thomas, profited much beyond ther age, untill it pleased the Lord to remove them both, the first by a consumptione, who died in the therteinth year of his age att Edenburgh, and was buried in the Grayfriers, at Bannatyn's tombe. Thomas died of the small-pox at the Drum, the same year, in the tenth year of his age, and was buried in Libbertoune kirk, the ordinary buryall place of that familie, since the want of Lintoune and Carnwath, ther ancient buryall places.

1647. This year, 1647, was fatal to this gentleman upon many accounts, but in nothing more then in the losse of his children; for, besydes these already mentioned, he had two daughters dyed of the small-pox, named Anna and Mary, both handsome girlles of the age of sex and eight years, which was noe small afflictione to ther loveing and indulgent mother. Some months before the death of his children, he was much

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pressed by all his relationes upon Clyde to make a purchase of the barronie of Cambusnethen, which was now to be sold by that unthrifty and imprudent gentleman Sir James Somervill of Cambusnethen, when it had been in the possessione of his familie for 168 years, since the dayes of John Lord Somervill, who was father to Sir John of Quathquan, that had his barronie given to him as ane additione to many other lands bestowed upon him by his father, being the eldest sone of his second marriage, whose posterity, from father to sone, keeped this barronie, as they did most of ther other lands, untill it fell in the hands of this unfortunate gentleman, the sexth from Sir John of Quathquan, who, haveing sold all his other estates, falls now upon the barronie of Cambusnethen, and parsills it out to severall heretors to hold of himself as superior, beleueing he should be able to retaine the properrtie of the Over Mayns of Cambusnethen, (wherin stood his mansione-house) neer to the river of Clyde, surrounded with orchyairds of a large extent, and profitable woods; that, besyde the advantage every cutting would have yielded him at least ten thousand merkes, besyde the benefit of the entrie of vassalls, being superiour of the wholl barronie; but finding at lenth that would

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not doe, he by himself and his other releations, dealles with his cussing Drume to buy the poor remainder of his once great estate. What might have induced this gentleman to enter upon this bargaine that hitherto had mannadged his private fortune soe weill, I cannot say, being myself but a youth at the tyme, but this I found to my coast; all his troubles took date from that very hour the dispositione was subscryved and delyvered to him, upon his giveing security for forty-fyve thousand merkes (which was the pryce of the Over Maynes of Cambusnethen, and superiority of the wholl barronie) to John Lord Bargenie, brother-in-law to Sir James, who is supposed to have shared largely in the pryces of all this gentleman's sales. What truth may be in this, I know not, but of this I am certaine, two of his profligate brethren helped to hasten Sir James to his ruine; one of these gentlemen being for the most part a residenter at his brother-in-lawes house, died a violent death, by breakeing his oune and his horse's neck over Garingill Craigs, as he was comeing from Cleland; the other outlived the sale of his brother-in-laws estate some few years in distemper of mynde, and then dyed. The dispositione had been blanke as to the name for some tyme preceeding, being

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of the date the sextienth of June, 1647, to make it a Whitsundayes bargaine, albeit the same was not agreed untill neer Candlemas 1648. This gentleman being loath to ingadge therein, knowing himself not capable for soe great a purchase, but ther was some fatalitie in the thing that he could not evite it; the importunitie of his relationes in that countrey, but mostly the perswasiones of James Duke of Hamiltone prevailled with him, who, haveing about this tyme come from his confinement in England, wherein he had been put by his majesties command since the year 1643, but being this winter returned to Scotland, he makes a great party in the state, and some small interest in the church, to oune his majesties quarrell, whereupon a parliament was called to sitt at Edenburgh the

where, notwithstanding the Argiliane factione, and the over officious medleing commissione of our kirk, which made a strong opposition against the duke, notwithstanding his grace carryed it by many votes in parliament, that ther should be ane armie raised for his majesties releiff, who was now in a manner keeped prisoner by the independent armie and factione in the English parliament. Ther was non withstood the Duke of Hamiltone more in his statione and place then

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Sir James Stewart, designed of Kirkfield, then provest of Edenburgh, a gentleman of very mean familie upon Clyde, being brother germane to the good man of Allentoune (a fewar of the Earle of Tweddall's in Auchtermuire, within Camnethen parish), whose predecessors before this man never came to sit above the laird of Cambusnethen's saltfoot; but being now knighted, and Sir James Stewart, the younger brother, being bread a merchant, and haveing married one Anna Hope, that then keeped the greatest, if not the only worset shope in Edenburgh, whereby he became so rich that he turned a great factor, and at lenth he was preferred to be general commismissar to our armie; by which imployment in a few years he soe inriches himself, that he buyes a great part of the barronie of Cambusnethen from the Lord Bellhaven, and other heretors, that some years preceeding the 1648 had purchased the same from Sir James Somervill, and had now made them over to him, who designed to make himself laird of Camnethen, knowing the same would shortly sell; which soe soon as it caine to passe, he bids largely for it in oppositione to Drume, albeit he was not ignorant Sir James himself, the Lord Bargenie, and all others concerned in the sale, wer resolved that gentle-

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man should have it. To keep that estate in the name, with whom, when they could not prevaill by themselves, they dealt earnestly with the Duke of Hamiltone, that had a great aversione from Sir James Stewarts haveing that interest in Clydesdale, whereby he should represent the first barrone upon Clyde (Lamingtoune excepted); that his grace would be pleased to send for Drume and encourage him in the bargaine, by assureing him of his kyndnesse and favour if he went on in the same, which accordingly the duke did, and farder offered him a regiment of foot in the armie he was now levying for his majesties service and releiff, against the independents in England. This last singular obligatione and proffer of the duke's, Drume, with expressiones of much thankefullnesse, excuses himself from, alleadgeing he was now growing old and unfitt for the warres, but promised to obey his grace as to the purchaseing the barronie of Cambusnethen, albeit he knew himself unable for it. The duke promised he should want noe encouragement from him as his kynde nighbour, which undoubtedly his grace would have performed, if it had pleased God to have given him the victory, and that he had returned to Scotland in safety and peace; but Providence had determined it otherwayes, as also

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with this gentleman the purchasser, who went neer to have ruined his ancient estate by this unlucky bargaine, which in the end cost him very dear; for all the measures he had taken for paying of the debts he had contracted in purchaseing that interest being frustrated, first by the great impositions that was then upon the land estates by cesses, outreiks of horse and foot, to the severall factions as they prevailed; and then the incomeing of the English armie in the year 1650, destroying his Lothian estate for neer three years, he was necessitate to maintaine his familie upon that which he had in the west; the interest of the money he had borrowed running up all that tyme, which ther is not a more compendious way to destroy any man's estate then that is.

However, this bargaine being settled about Christmasse, in the spring Drume goes to Cambusnethen and takes infeftment of the barronie thereof, and at the same tyme he buys from Sir James Somervill much of his household furniture, with other goods for labouring, belonging to him, wherein he was a considerable loser; but this he did at the earnest desyre of his freinds, that he might the sooner come to the possessione of the houses; which having gotten, he transports his familie therto about Easter, haveing the do-

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maine to labour, which was all he had of property within the barronie of Cambusnethen. For his many high houses being for the greatest part ruinous, I shall wryte nothing of it, haveing allready given ane account thereof in the memory of Sir John of Quathquan, the first barrone thereof, from the tyme that it became a distinct familie from the house of Cowdally; however, the cituatione being so pleasant and fertile, it deserves a particular descriptione. For the house it stands upon ane eminence, haveing ane assent upon all quarters, save one, overlooking two spacious haughs and the river of Clyde, some two arrow flight from the house; the first of these haughs lying to the north-west, is a mylle of lenth, and in some places a quarter broad to the river; the second lying to the south-east, is three quarters of a mylle long, and a quarter broad, which makes with the orch-yairds, woods, and higher ground, the Over-Mayns of Cambusnethen. Rounde the house lyes all the orch-yairds, the garden upon the south-east, from which, upon both hands, you may descend to the brae yairds of three large tarrasses, and to ane other yaird commonly called the Garden-head yaird; upon the south of the garden, by ane easy descent, you come to the great orch-yaird,

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containing sex aikers of ground, includeing a parcell thereof that is woody, all upon one levine, stanked and hedged, about whose back entry from the south leads you first to a triangle haugh surrounded with wood, and then to the river of Clyde for salmond fishing for more nor two mylles, which makes the lenth of the wholl barronie from Garingill to the Miregill mouth. Upon the south-east of this great orch-yaird, lyes a little parke named the Bowbanke, the laigh ground whereof is meadow, and the higher for pasturage, set with a long rainge of plain trees; ther being a wood at the south end thereof that goes to the river; all the other quarters of the house hes yairds upon them full of choyce fruits, and without them woodes, the greatest whereof, named the Hagile, with Brice's Hagg, will be neer a mylle and a half in circuite, and upon a ryseing ground, lyes upon the north, with its prospect to the entrie of the house, as of late it is contryved; all the other woods, which are not a few, are seen from the house. To take a view of the yairds and woods (from the lights or platforme of the house) in the latter end of Apryle, or beginning of May, one would thinke the wholl feilds wer covered with linnen and carpets; such variety hes the undergrouth and

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leaves, with the flourishing of severall sorts of trees that growes there, and as ther is much pleasure in this, soe there is noe little profite accresses to the ouners from the woods and orchyairds, wherein you have the choicest of fruits, in a seasonable year, from the midle of May untill the first of November; from the trees you can eat of some one kynde or other, ther being few years but the chessenuts and wallnuts comes almost to perfectione; the apprecocks, peaches, and other outlandish fruits allwayes; the wineberrie and figgs to a great lenth. In a word, ther is not one insche of the Over-Mayns of Cambusnethen that is not both for profit and pleasure: take but the testimonie of a judicious English judge, by name Judge Smith;[1] whill he was goeing the circuits in the west, he came of purpose to see Cambusnethen, and went up to

[1] One of Cromwell's judges. Of him, and of his brother in commission, Mosely, the epigram was first composed, which has since been applied to others:

Smith, Mosely, and Necessity,
Are very like each other;
Necessity hath got no law,
Nor Smith and Mosely neither.

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the Halkie Hill, that overlookes much of the demaine, in a rapture he expresses himself thus, "All Scotland, and three parts of England, cannot compare with that piece of ground!" and soe I leave it to the present ouner, seing nether the representatives of Cowdayly, nor yet the familie of Cambusnethen, had the good fortune to keep it, when the same had been in ther possessione for 264 years, since the marriage of John Barrone of Lintoune and Carnwath with Margaret Edmonstoune, heiresse therof.[1]

1648. Drum haveing now settled in the west, made his constant residence att Cambusnethen, haveing the demaine in his oune hand, which he improved to all advantages by overseeing his husbandry, grassing, orchyairds, and woods, that yielded him a great increasse, but nothing answerable to the interest of the money he had given for it, which occasioned, by the losse of his rent in Lothian, his debts to increase, the money being all borrowed that he bought that estate with. The latter end of this summer his eldest daughter alyve, named Sybilla eftir her

[1] The beauties and fertility of this delightful spot are by no means exaggerated. It is now the seat of Robert Lockhart, Esq. of Castle-hill and Cambusnethen.

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grandmother, the Lady Newhall, dyes in the nynth year of her age, and lyes buryed at Cambusnethen.

From a petty particular that occurred in this familie, I cannot but take notice to what hight of insolency our presbyterean kirk and kirk-men in Scotland was come to this year and the two succeeding, which rendered them hatefull to many of ther great patrons in the state, which first begane by the commissione of the kirks opposeing, and then declareing against the proceedings of the parliament in *anno* 1648, who had authorized and commissioned James Duke of Hamiltone as ther generall, to levy and carry into England ane armie of twentie thousand men for his majesties releiff. This the commissione of the kirk, and, by ther example, the wholl ministers of Scotland, (a few, even fourtie honest men of nyne hundreth and odds excepted,) that ouned the parliament's proceedings in this affair, and asserted that engadgement to be most lawfull and consonant to the true intent of the covenant, for they durst not yet but breathe in that air, of which number that able divyne and excellent preacher, Master William Colvine, was chief, and Master Andrew Bannantyne, mi-

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nister of Carvat, youngest sone to Sir James Bannantyne of Ejen-hall, brother-in-law to Drum; these excepted, all the rest opposed by protestationes, declarations; and preaching against the votes of the parliament, and when they perceaved that that would not doe, but that ther party there was out-voted, and all things carried to the duke's mynde, his armie being now levying, they made it ther businesse in the countrey, to debauche the gentrie and incense the commons, thereby to retarde or hinder the levyes, which was now fast goeing on, and when that did not succeed with them as they hoped, ther holy divillishnesse, by their thundering preachings, stirred up a flat rebellione in the west-land countries, which some of ther carcasses payed for at Machline, being there defeat by some few of the duke's troups, commanded by Major-generall Middletoune, formerly a rigide presbyterean, and one who had done them good service, but this year turned prosselyte, he became a stout asserter of his majesties interest. This small defeat of some ministers and countrey clownes, made the duke's levies come the more quickly on, notwithstanding the ministers continued ther threatenings, predictions, and doune right curseings from ther

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pulpits to my oune hearing, which makes me wryte this with greater confidence then if I had receaved the same from a second hand; but so soon as the report of the duke's being beatten at Prestoune, and the rest of his armie brocken at other places in England, (for I am not to give the particulars of that unfortunate expeditione,) came to Scotland, what a tryumphant song was put in the minister's mouths to eccho furth ther profane allelujahs, and how they are applauded as true prophets of the Lord, by the ignorant people that judges allwayes of causes by ther event, when through God's wyse dispensatione many tymes it falls out quyte contrary, as undoubtedly it did in this great losse, whereby our king and countrey suffered, the first in his royall persone, and the last in their liberties, which this fatall stroake gave the great occasione and opportunitie unto, which these our good patriots of kirk and state soe much rejoyced at. That having againe raised the west, now under the command of some noblemen of their party, and brought in severall troups of English horse, commanded by ther yet darling Oliver Cromwell, to ruine the remaining part of the duke's armie, which had not gone the lenth of Prestoune, wer now returned to Scotland, and wer commanded

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by William Earle of Lendrick and George Monroe; with these the west-land forces declyned to fight, albeit they had David Lesselie, Major-generall Montgomerie, with other expert officers, upon ther head, foirby two small assayes at Mussilburgh and Stirling. They found that if ther ill-staited quarrell came to be decyded by the sword, they would be put to ther penitentialls, and soe losse ther reputatione with the people, whom they had intoxicated with a beleiff that the Lord had and would oune them in defence of a brocken covenant; thairfore, by ane agreement at Linlithgow, they setled with the Earl of Lendrick, and these other noblemen that adheared to his majesties interest, wherein eftirward they observed not one article, either to the nobility, officers, or souldiers, most of whom was plundered, and severall killed as they travelled through the west to Ireland, from whom some gentlemen upon Clyde that I could name tooke a great bounty, but seing the familie of whom I wryte had the greatest interest and principall residence in that countrey for neer three hundred years, and wer either by affinitie or consanguinitie related to the worthiest houses there, I will forbear to be more particular.

The capitulatione of this party, and the de-

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feat of the duke's armie in England, soe hightened the presbyterean interest in this kingdome, that the insulting rabbies of that factione inhanced the wholl government both of the kirk and state; it is true, they permitted and allowed the sitting of severall sessions of parliament, and the committie of estates in the intervall of parliaments; but it is as true, ther generall assemblies, and ther commissione of the kirk, soe over-awed both the parliaments and committie of estates, that they durst not propose any thing in nether without consulting of them, nor conclude nothing without ther approbatione; albeit the same should have contributed never soe much to the honour of the natione, and safety of the state; witnesseth ther dissenting from the parliament, 1648, that voted for ane armie to releave the king, then made prisoner by the independent factione in England, but voted by them to be ane unlawfull engadgement and breache of covenant. Againe in *anno* 1650, Major-generall Hurrie (too faithfull to them whill he served ther interest,) being made prisoner upon Montrose's defeat in the north by Strauchan, was sentenanced to perpetuall banishment by the parliament, but the commissione of the kirk voted he should die, and therupon sent ther mode-

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rator, with other two of ther number, to the parliament house, who very saucilly, in face of that great and honourable court, (if it had not been then a body without a head,) told the president and chancellor, that the parliament had granted life to a man whom the Lord had appoynted for death, being a man of blood, (citeing these words of our blessed Saviour to Peter, " All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword;") whereas it was very weill knoune all the blood that that unfortunate gentleman had shed in Scotland was in ther quarrell and defence, being but then engadged in his master's service when he was taken prisoner, and executed at the kirk's instigatione.

The parliament was soe farre from rebukeing ther bold intruders, or resenting those acts of the commissione of the kirk, (now quyte besyde ther master's commissione, as they will have it understood, and ther oune solemne professione, not to meddle in secular affairs,) that they rescinded their former act, and passed a sentence of death upon him, hereby imitating ther dear brethren, the parliament of England, in the caice of the Hothams. These, as weill as this poor gentleman, had ther heads strucken off for the great services they had done unto ther ungrate mas-

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ters. Severall instances of this nature I could give of the kirk's insulting over the state, as in the caice of the old Marques of Huntlie, whom the parliament really intended noe farder to punish then by perpetuall imprisonement; but Argyle, the great patron of the presbytereans, whill they wer in their infancie, (but now you must understand they stood upon ther oune leggs,) designeing to have his estate, he causes the commissione of the kirk peremptorily demand his death of the parliament, which they granted, fearing to offend ther holynesses, that, by the breath of ther mouth could make them all malignants, and soe expose them to the envy of the people and ther oune scorne; thairfore it was that the parliament gave up this noble persone, (now neer the eightieth year of his age) as a sacrifice to ther bloody zeall, but he was a papist and a malignant too in ther account, that exonerated ther consciences, and pleased the people for the tyme, that held the predictiones of ther ministers for oracles.

Amongst many other acts of ther generall assemblies (now rescinded) they passed one, that noe persone of what qualitie soever should bury within the walls of the kirk, albeit ther buriall place was there, and that many of these kirks

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and queirs had been built by the predecessors of these noblemen and gentlemen, that had that privilege from antiquity, and by the right of foundatione, uncontraverted untill the tyme of thir new reformers, now in the meredian and greatnesse of ther glory, influenceing all the noysome weeds of disloyalty that had sprung up since our rebellione in the year 1636.[1]

It was as much out of peike, as to give obedience to this act of the generall assemblies, that Sir Walter Stewart of Allontoune, and Sir James Stewart, his brother, off whom I have spocken somewhat allready, both heretors in the parish of Cambusnethen, the first, from some antiquity, a fewar of the Earle of Tweddell's, in Auchtermuire, whose predecessors untill this man never came to sitt above the saltfoot when at the Laird of Cambusnethen's table, which for ordinary every sabboth they dyned at, as did most of the honest men within the parish of any account; for Sir James Stewart, his brother, when a youth, he was bound a merchant prentice in Edinburgh,

[1] Begging forgiveness of the writer of these Memoirs, I cannot help thinking that this was the wisest measure which the kirk adopted during the period of its predominating influence.

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his patrimonie scarce paying his prentice fie, which, when he had finished, with repoart of much honestie towards his master, and zeall to the Geneva government, (which many of our natione was then again bleeting eftir,) he procures to himself a rich marriage, one Anna Hope, that keeped the principall, if not the only worset chope in Edenburgh, whereby in a short tyme he soe enriched himself that he turned factor, and our armie goeing into England, he was made generall commissar. At lenth he came to be provost of Edenburgh, and one of the three

(As to the barrons that ruled all Scotland for three or four years,) albeit it consists within the knowledge of all men that knew them, that never any of the three attained to the honour of freeholders, notwithstanding of the great purchase that two of them made with ther ill-gotten money dureing the tyme of our civill warres. But to proceed.

Drum, now designed of Cambusnethen, haveing his eldest daughter removed the latter end of the same summer he came there to live, he resolves to bury her in the queir[1] of Cambusne-

[1] Choir.

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then kirk; that place being not only the constant buriall-place of the barrons of Cambusnethen, but occasionally his oune grandfather Lord Heugh, and his uncle Gilbert Lord Somervill, had been buried there, the one dyeing at the Raploch, the other at his oune house of Crastland-head, neer by the kirk. This Sir Walter Stewart of Allentoune opposes, as tending to a breache of an act of the generall assemble, wherof he was a zealous observer, and yet knoune to be the greatest oppressor in Scotland, soe farre as his petty dominione did reache. Cambusnethen persists in his resolutione, and myndes to make use of the king's keyes,[1] if the kirk-warden refuise to delyver the keyes; whereof Allentoune being informed, he makes his application to the presbytrie of Hamiltoune, and with much smooth language tells ther wisdomes that he should not have opposed the Laird of Cambusnethen in the burying of his dead within the kirk, if the generall assemblie had not passed an act, strictly forbidding the same, which in conscience he could not see brocken, being a ruleing elder of the kirk, and ane heritor within that parish, with-

[1] In the language of Scots legal writs, the king's keys imply making a forcible entry.

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out giveing ther wisdomes advertisement thereof, which now haveing done, he left it to them to see to the keeping of the acts of the generall assemblie, seing they wer most concerned therein, as members of that high, pious, and reverend kirk judicatorie, the majesty whereof ought still to be keeped up by a punctuall and due observance of all the members thereof. When he had made ane end of this insinuating and flattering discourse, (for he was the greatest dissembler under heaven) the moderator for himself, and in name of his brethren, gave him hearty thanks that he had been soe carefull to see the acts of the assemblie observed, which should be notified at ther next conventione, that soe by ther intercessione the committie of estates (for they durst refuise nothing they demanded of them,) might conferre upon him ane temporall reward, being concious to themselves their blessings was but litle worth, soe long as they wer fomenters of seditione and trumpetts of rebellione to the people for the tyme. The presbyterie concluded to wryte a letter to Cambusnethen, the draught whereof was recommended to ther moderator, Master James Nasmyth, minister of Hamiltoune. A more insolent and ambitious fellow (with reverence be it spocken to his sacred functione,)

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was never knoune in the kirk of Scotland since the reformatione. The tennor of the letter followes.

Sir,

According to our duty, as being the Lord's servants, and that trust imposed upon us by our reverend brethren of the assemblie, to see their acts observed, I am desyred by the presbyterie of Hamiltoune to acquaint you, that they being certainly informed by the minister of Camnethen parish, [this was a notorious lie, for Allentoune was the informer,] that, contrary to the acts of the assemblie, which forbids all burying within the bodie of the kirks, and the queirs being held as a part of the bodie of the kirk, the burying there will unquestionablie be a breaking of that act; notwithstanding whereof, as is informed, you intend to bury your dead within the queir of Camnethen kirk, and in order thereto, you mynde to force the keyes from the kirk officer, or to make patent doors by violence if they be refuised, which illegall proceedings will not only be found a breache of the civill peace, but unquestionablie will make you lyable to the kirk censure, which they mynde to prosecute to the outmost if you persist in soe wicked a purpose;

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thairfore, sir, the presbyterie of Hamiltoune, as faithfull pastours, being tender of your reputatione, the good of your familie, and the peace of the countrey, advyses you to forbear to doe any thing that may be of evill example, and give offence to the people of God, amongst whom you now live, otherwayes, much against ther inclinatione, they will be necessitat to make use of that power ther Lord and Master hes invested them with, to bring you to a true sence of your great guilt, in presuming to violat ane ordinance of his kirk, appoynted for decencie by these in whom the power resides. To determine in such matters, this Chrystian admonitione comeing from me, as the mynde of the presbyterie, I hope will prevaill soe farre that you will not break the act of the assemblie, thereby to incurre the kirk censure, which, that you may not, shall be the earnest prayer, sir, of your servant only in the Lord. *Sic subscribitur,*

JA. NASMYTH.

This letter being civill enough, considering the temper of the man, I shall make noe commentar upon it, nether shall I offer to dispute the poynt nor power of the generall assemblie

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in makeing such ane act, it being now rescinded, but certainly it's the opinione of the ablest casuists in Europe, (as it is the constant practice of all Christians, both protestant and popish, to bury in kirks,) that if any thing be of civill right to a man, it is his buriall place, that is and ought to be held his proppertie for a religious use; and what more religious then the burying the dead in a consecrated place, such as kirks are or ought to be, I would aske the presbyteareans, that to this day holds the acts of the late generall assemblie, (lyke to the lawes of the Medes and Persians, unalterable,) wither that parcell of ground purchased by Abraham from Ephrone, the son of Zohar, the Hittite, that dwelt amongst the children of Heth, was Abraham's proppertie? If it was, (which they will not nor dare not contravert) then had he power to destitute and appoynt that parcell of ground to what use he pleased, which haveing done for a buriall place to himself and his successors, before he had any other right of property within the land of Canaan; now suppose that himself or any of his posteritie eftirward had built a synagogue in use with them, upon that very ground where the cave was, by what law, humane or divine, could

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the head and representatives of the Jewish church (when constitute in that excellent order left us upon sacred record,) have made ane act, dischargeing any ane of the posteritie of Abraham, (in whose lot this synagogue had fallen, wherein the ancient buriall place of ther fathers was,) to have buried in that synagogue, pretending it might profane that holy place appoynted for divine worship, which, as we find not done by them upon record, nor practised by the ancient Christian church, since the tyme ther was publict places allowed them for divine service. Upon what grounds then the Generall Assemblie proceeded, when they made that act that depryved soe many noble families of ther ancient buriall places, I leave it to lawyers and divines to enquyre eftir; and soe I returne again to Cambusnethen, who, notwithstanding of the presbyteries prohibitione, was fully determined to bury his daughter within the queir, which the Lairds of Raploch, Cleilland, and Millburne, with others of his relations, being informed off, they came to Camnethen, and dealt very earnestly with him not to break the act of the assemblie, nor contemne the admonitione of the presbytrie, who were fully resolved with excommunication against

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him, and all his assisters, if he should bury within the queir, or within any part of the churche walls.

This advyce of his friends, with the hazard he might incurre (if any act of violence had been committed upon the opening of the ground, or at the interment,) from the civil magistrat, which consisted then wholly of the kirk party, made Cambusnethen content to bury his daughter at the east gavill of the queir without, placeing a large monument, with much imagrie and severall inscriptions engraven thereon, over the buriall-place, which shortly thereftir was brocken, as is supposed, by the malice of Allentoune and John Hamiltoune of Idistoune, upon this occasione.

The parish of Cambusnethen being neer seven mylles in lenth, the kirk stood at the south-west poynt of the wholl parish, neer to the river of Clyde, which certainly had been built there for the barrone of Cambusnethen's accommodation, soe near his mansione-house, as being patrons thereof, and probably upon his propper expences, there being noe other heritors then in the parish but himself, the in and out barronie not being seperate untill the tyme of Thomas Lord Somervill, that gave the Lord Yester ther first interest there; however, to speak the truth, the situa-

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tione was most inconvenient for the people, especially aftir the muirs came to be riven out and inhabited, most of whom had three, four, fyve, yea, some sex mylles to the kirk, in the deep of winter, and a more mischievous gate for boigs, mosse, and deep claye, is not within the kingdome, then betwext the Easter Read Myre and the now old kirk of Cambusnethen. This Sir Walter Stewart of Allentoune takes to consideratione (haveing his oune residence beyond Auchter Water, near fyve mylles from the kirk,) how to get remedied, knowing Cambusnethen would oppose the transportatione of the kirk, as he had good reasone to doe upon many accounts, but non more then because the queir of that kirk had been the buriall place of the greatest and worthyest cadits of his familie, and was now returned to himself, as superior of that barronie, and proprietor of the mansione-house and demaine belonging therto.

The Generall Assemblie now sitting upon the complaint of severall ministers and heretors, that ther parishes was too spacious and great to be overseen and orderly catechised, they had devyded severall of these parishes by erectiones of two kirks where the teinds would allow the same. Allentoune being a ruleing elder, his allya Ed- 1649.

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stoune being commissioner to the parliament, for they nether that satt. At the same tyme, Sir James Stewart was provost of Edenburgh, being likewayes a member thereof, who had great power with the kirk, that ruled all the affairs of the kingdome. Being soe weill staited both in the church and state, Allentoune gives in a petitione to the Generall Assemblie, wherein he informes them of the lenth, breadth, populacie of the muirs, and all other inconveniences of Camnethen parrish, allready mentioned by me, and then craved, that as ther wisdomes had already devyded severall parishes within the kingdome, and of late the parish of Munckeland, and appoynted ane other kirk there, soe they would be pleased to grant ane act for building a new kirk in some convenient place beyond Auchter Water, for accommodatione of the muirs, the communicants being now as many there as in the laigh countrey, and the parish of as large extent as that of the Munckeland.

This petitione undoubtedly should have been granted at ther next sitting, if information therof had not quickly been given to the trusties of James Duke of Hamiltoune, who was titular of the teynds of that parish, as tacksmen to the Lord Archbishope of Glasgow, who, albeit all of them

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was clessed doune as malignants for the engadgement, yet had they ther oune freinds both in the kirk and state, with whom they dealt earnestly to withstand the passing of that act, as tending greatly to the duke's losse, in takeing from him the wholl of the teynds of that parish, and withall they furnished them with severall reasons to perswad the Generall Assemblie to lay aside that petitione. But non was soe convincing as that, when a just valuatione of the teynds was given in to them, it was not possible, out of the wholl teynds, many of them being valued and sett in tacks by the Dukes of Hamiltoune, to make up two stipends for the ministers that should serve the cure there. As for the glybe and manse of that other kirk, Allentoune, of his oune accord, offered to give the ground, and to be with other heretors that should be casten to that parish at the expence of building the kirk; notwithstanding of all which, and the reasones of the petition, the same was rejected upon the want of a competent stipend for two kirks.

Allentoune haveing gotten this repulse, resolves not soe to give it over, but again petitione the Generall Assemblie upon the former reasones, that since the parish could not be denyed, yet

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that they would be pleased to grant ane act for transporting the kirk to some more convenient place of the parish, for the accommodatione of the inhabitants. This petitione was noe sooner given in, but Cambusnethen was advertised of it by Master James Hamiltoune's second sone, the good man of Broomehill, then minister of the parish of Camnethen, but eftirward, upon his majesties restauratione, made Bishope of Galloway. This pious and learned gentleman, albeit he was Allentoune's brother-in-law, his sister being lady to him, yet had soe much greater respect and kyndenesse for Drum, now Cambusnethen, his neer cussing by the house of Raploch and Stanhouse, then for his brother-in-law, ther principalls both of loyalty and church government being much different; for it was knoune to this gentleman's intimates, and even suspected by the presbyterean clergy, that he was episcopally inclyned; however, they did forbear to medle with him, because of the pregnancie of his spirit, and the great freinds he had within the shyre. This gentleman haveing made a purchase within the parish, from Matthew Stewart, brother german to the Laird of Minto, who himself had bought the same from Sir James Somervill eleven years

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or thereby preceding this, and now held of Drum as barrone of Cambusnethen, his dwelling-house being very neer the kirk, he was unwilling that it should be transported to any other part of the parish; thairfore, soe soon as this petitione was presented to the assemblie, he gave advertisement to Cambusnethen, but secretly, for fear of Sir James Stewart and his oune brother-in-law, Allentoune, both of them being great favourites of the kirk, might have turned him out of his ministre, for the presbyterie of Hamiltoune wait-ed for ane occasione to be fairly quyte of him that singly opposed them in all ther illegall and unwarrantable proceedings against these that wer of and for the duke's engadgement, *anno* 1648.

Upon this advertisement, Cambusnethen comes to Edenburgh, and speakes first with some of his freinds, members of that assemblie, then with these of the presbytrie of Edenburgh, and more particularly with the ministers of the toune, in whom he confided much, because formerly when he lay before the Castle of Edenburgh, and was wounded in ther service (for if men will speak the truth, it was principally, if not only the kirk's quarrell that begane and continued that unna-tural warre against the father of our countrey,) they had often promised to befreind him in any

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actione that might come before them; but old springs[1] give noe pryce, they then charished militarie men, but now they wer mounted on the chair of government, and looked doune with disdaine upon these that had been greatly instrumentall to place them there, as they did with this gentleman, who, comeing to speak with ther moderator, Master Robert Douglas, he very ingenuously tells him the granting of the petitione was already concluded upon, and his appearing to oppose it would be to noe purpose, but to give these, he knew boor him noe good will, reasone to insult. He thanked the moderator for his respects and friendly advyce, and then went to consult his lawyers in this affair, if legally he could appeal from the assemblie to the parliament, being soe much his civill right, as that he was both patron of the kirk and superior of the wholl barronie. His lawyers told him he might, but they wer apprehensive, as affairs then went, he should be remitted back to the assemblie, for the parliament would medle with nothing that they had taken upon them to determine in; and withall they assured him, the assemblie's granting the pe-

[1] Old tunes.

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titione could prejudice him noe farder then in the expence of building of a new kirk, and causeing him ryde farder to it for his money.

Cambusnethen haveing receaved this advyce, and finding his patronage or superioritie incurre not any danger or dammadge by the proceedings of the Generall Assemblie, resolves not to be seen in the affair, as he did not, but went to the Drum about his private businesse, and then goes for Cambusnethen. By this tyme Allentoune was returned with his act, which he intimates the next sabboth, and craved a meeting of the heretors and elders eftir sermon; when they wer convened, he produced the act of the assemblie for transporting the kirk, subscryved by the clerk of the assemblie, Master

Cambusnethen made as though he had been much surprized by this, and demanded of Allentoune how he came to offer any such thing to the Generall Assemblie without acquainting the rest of the heretors, and himself in particular, seing he was patrone of that kirk; Allentoune calmely answered, laughing, (as was ordinary for him to doe when intended a man ane ill turne,) That it had been often spocken to formerly, and compleaned off both by himself and all the few-

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ars beyond Auchter Water, to the other heretors without effect; thairfore he, with the rest of his neighbours, was necessitat to have ther recourse to those that had power to right them, and had done soe by ther act of transportatione. "And to ease you, sir," says Cambusnethen, "others must be prejudged and diseased that deserves as weill, if not far better of the kirk of Scotland then you doe, and all the fewars beyond Auchter Water." Allentoune replyed nothing to this, but said he hoped the heretors would take the assemblie's act to consideratione, and goe about to fix upon some convenient place of the parish to transport the kirk unto, and withall that they would fall upon a way how the charges thereof might be defrayed.

Master James Hamiltoune fearing these last proposalls of Allentoune's should raise much heat, as undoubtedly they would, the matter as yet and contryveance not being weill digested, he adjourned the session till the next sabbath, and withall desyres the heretors that they would be pleased to meet upon some week day to setle that affair peaceably, according to law, and as became good Christians and neighbours of the same parish. This advyce of the minister's, to

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whom Cambusnethen had a singular respect, with some other interest that Allentoune made with Cambusnethen's relations upon Clyde, soe farre prevailled, that at lenth they brought him to subscryve a contract with the other heretors, wherin they obledged themselves to pay out such sums of money as should be found necessary for building the new kirk of Cambusnethen at the Greenhead. This was a rouine belonging to the Laird of Ernock, of the sirname of Robertoune, purchased from Sir James Somervill, being a part of the barronie of Cambusnethen, and still holding of his successor Drum; this might be one of the reasones that moved him to subscryve the contract, that the kirk was still to be upon his ground, and the same at noe great distance from his residence, being scarce a mylle and a quarter, the way not very bad even in the deep of winter.

But that which is most observable in this contract, is to find every particular relateing to this building particularly sett doune, and yet noe liquid soume condescended upon for defraying the charges thereof, but it is left to the optione of these at whose instance the execution of the contract was to passe, and that was Sir James Muirhead of Lachope, Sir Walter Stewart of Allen-

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toune, Sir James Stewart of Kirkfeild, James Somervill of Cambusnethen, John Hamiltoune of Idistoune, Patrick Hamiltone of Green, and Master James Hamiltone of Murrays, minister of the parish, or any four of them that should agree upon the matter. By this condescentione was Cambusnethen and Lachope, with all the other heretors of the parish, insnared; for Allentoune and his brother gaineing upon the simplicity of Idestoune and Green, made them condescend to what they did; who, haveing power by the contract, in imposeing what soumes of money they pleased upon the parish, for whereas at first

of Watersaugh, and Alexander King, knowing and able tradesmen, both as to the masone and wright worke, offered to perfyte the kirk, and give the heretors the keyes in ther hands, within ane year, the parishoners laying too the materialls, for three thousand merks; it cost them more than seven thousand, and was as many years in building, a great part of the timber being spoyled before it was sclaitted.

Soe soon as this contract was subscryved and the worke begune, Idistoune, out of zeall forsuith, and pretext to farder the building of the new kirk, pulles doune the roof of the old, and in takeing of that off the queirs (designedly, as

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was supposed, by Allentoune his instigatione), the cape stone is throwen doune, which, falling directly upon the monument Cambusnethen had placed over his daughter, breakes it in four peices. A more malitious act could not readily have been performed, then to deface the monument of the dead, held in esteem, if not sacred, amongst all nations to this very day; this gentleman, Idistoune, being my relatione, and haveing matched one of his daughters with a cadite of this gentleman's familie, I will not blacken his reputatione by telling, for all his furious zeall to the house of God, he might have been at the tyme under the kirk's censure; but our reverend brethren of the presbyterie knew weill enough how to stryke gentilly the faillings of these of ther oune gang, without publict censure; for all the noyse they make now against the orthodox clergy for not punishing vyce with the same severity that they would, makeing the world beleive they wer accustomed to doe, when they had the power of the keyes. However, this act might have been severely resented, if Providence had not soe ordered, that all the tyme Cambusnethen was in Louthain, and before his returne, the minister, that was allwayes for peace, had caused putt togither the stones as weill as could be: by doeing

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whereof, and the minister's intreaty, Cambusnethen for the tyme rested content, not without a grudge against Idistoune that he should have had any accessione thereto, seing he was his cussing, and that ther was soe great freindship and familiaritie betwext ther sones.

I have intentionally forborne to wryte any thing concerning the publict proceedings of our church and state this year, 1649, seing ther is nothing to commend us to posteritie, but much to the contrary. Our sending of commissioners to protest against the rumpe of the English parliament; and that bloody high court of justice, patched up of the worst of traitors, was at best but a mocke bussinesse, formalities of lawes, covenants, and obligationes by oaths, was but cubwebbs to hold them, that was past all humanity, and feeling of all sence, but that of glutting themselves with the pretious blood of the Lord's anoynted, which this year was shed by those missecreants to the scandall of the Christian world, and reproach of the protestant professione in particular.

1650. Ther sending of commissioners soe limited to treat with his present majestie, then resideing att Bredha, in Holland, was a businesse much of the same nature with that formerly sent to England;

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but that these noble men, now somewhat sencible of ther former errours, without pressing his majestie to subscryve the articles contained in ther instructions, or waiting for the approbatione of ther masters then sitting, they brought over the king to Scotland, a litle before whose arryveall, the parliament (notwithstanding of his majesties letter) had condemned the loyallest of all his subjects, the great Marques of Montrose, whose name is, and ever will be mentioned with honour, in despight of all that the presbyteareans can say or doe him—they condemne him to be hanged and quartered att the crosse of Edenburgh, which sentence was executed upon the , to the astonishment of many, how they durst presume to shed the blood of soe eminent a peer, being expressly forbidden by ther prince who was shortly to be with them; but the truth is, that hastened his death, for the leading men of the parliament, and these of the Generall Assemblie, apprehended, as they had good reasone, his majesties presence would have darred them to have put that unjust sentense in executione, which, being once done, ther was noe remedy for the tyme but patience; for a few years thereftir, some of them severely smarted for this precipitatione.

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His majestie had notice of this before he came from Holland, and therupon expostulated a litle with the commissioners, but modestly, as unwilling to retarde the grand affairs then in agitatione with them, which was wisely done of the king, for it made the commissioners more regardfull of his majesties desyres then ther master's commands at home, who had strictly forbidden them to conclude any thing untill the king subscryved the nationall covenant, and the league and covenant, both which, with severall other articles in ther instructions, the commissioners dispensed with, untill his majestie was present with his parliament; before whose comeing, they had voted to raise four thousand horse, and sextein thousand foot, for defence of the king and countrey, and this they did not, before they wer assured ther dear brethren in England had recalled from Ireland Oliver Cromwell, now ther commissioned general, appoynting him with ane armie of sexteine thousand men to invade Scotland, which accordingly he did the first of July, 1650.

It is not to be expected that I am to give a particular account of his majesties receptione into this kingdome, nor yet of the levying and modelling of our armies, ther severall incampings,

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and other circumstances relateing to that warre, and other great affairs still in agitatione dureing his majesties abode with us, and eftirward for nyne years, untill his happy restauration; these, as to what concerns this kingdome in part, hath been allready written by those of our neighbour nationc, little to our advantage, how truely I cannot say; but this I have, from my owne observatione, being ane eye-witnesse to most of the militarie actiones that passed dureing the king's abode in Scotland, that albeit our armies was by farre the greater, our officers of noe lesse courage and experience then the enemies, and our souldiers much more able and resolute then thers appeared to be; yet God would never honour any of them to stricke one fair stroake in his majesties behalf, that had drawn ther swords against his royall father, and that even eftir Dunbar,[1] when it might be supposed all knaves had deserted the king's service, as they themselves had been instrumentall to purge out from the armie all stout and honest men, some few dayes before they were surpryzed and beat att

[1] Where Leslcy received from Cromwell a calamitous defeat.

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Dunbar; for a battell it can never be esteemed by me, nor noe man else that was a witness to the shamefull flight of soe gallant ane armie for ane handfull of men, and most of these haveing the country dissease at the tyme. These occurrances being out of my province, I shall only passingly glance at them as I proceed in the remaining part of this gentleman's life.

Some weeks before the armie encamped betwext Edenburgh and Leith (where they lay under a regular lyne drawen from the Water Yett be the Quarrell Holls, to the south-west bulwarke of Leith's fortificationes), Cambusnethen being unwilling that his sone should goe abroad, haveing but one alyve, and he the hope of continueing his familie, seing neither himself nor his father had any brethren that left a male succession, nor yet his grand-father Lord Hugh, save one, named James, whose sone, Master John Somervill, then minister of Ednome, in the Merse, or his sone, should have succeeded to him if his oune had dyed, being the nearest heir male to the house of Cowdayly, as great-grand chylde to Lord James by his second sone. This being the reasone why Cambusnethen would not suffer his sone to goe out of the countrey, he resolves, notwithstanding, to hazard him both in the court

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and campe, being then in the eighteine year of his age; in order to this he brings his sone to Edenburgh, where efter he had advysed with some of his ladye's relations, it was thought fitt (as the best occasione of his breeding) that he should be of the Earle of Eglingtoune's retinue, whom his majestie had then made captaine of his guaird of horse; this nobleman being his neer cussing by the house of Seatoune, whereof he was a brother, as this young gentleman's great-grand-mother, dame Helenor Seatoune, was a daughter of the same familie. Soe soon as this was motioned to the Earle of Eglingtoune he entertained it very kyndely, and thanked Cambusnethen, that amongst soe many honourable relationes he was pleased to intrust his only sone and heir to him, of whom he would be as carefull as if he wer to succeed himself; Cambusnethen thanked his lordship, and promised that within a few dayes his sone should be with him, furnished with men and horses according to his qualitie, which accordingly he performed, and soe this youth entered as ane of the Earle of Eglingtoune's retinue, both when he was at the court and in the campe, sitting allwayes at his oune table when in the one, and being in the troupe when in the other; wherein he continued eftir

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it was made a regiment, untill the king's goeing into England, that by his father's command he returned home to attend his pleasure.

Cambusnethen now growing old, being in the fyftieth and fyfth, and his lady in the fourtieth and fourth year of ther ages, they thought it tyme to setle ther sone in a marryed estate with some worthy familie within the shyre where they lived; ther had been some discourse of this the year preceeding with the eldest daughter of the laird of Idistoune, but the young gentleman fancyed the third, named Hellen, much more, being the hansomer and greater beauty be farre. This bussinesse came no great lenth, the parents being unwilling to matche with the third daughter, with whom they were to expect but a small portione, and the sone would not marry with the eldest, soe different from him in complexione, and elder by sex years. This affair being over, some few weeks thirefftr ther was ane happy oppertunitie given to this young gentleman to see and be acquainted with a young gentlewoman of a more honourable familie, and infinately beyond all for beauty and breeding that had yet been spoken of, and it was upon this occasione: the armie being incamped att Corstorphine, young Corhouse being there with his father, who was

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leivetennent-colloneli to Stewart's regiment of horse, he invites young Cambusnethen to his father's tent, who made this young gentleman very wellcome, and interteined him respectfully, because of his haveing a Bannatyne to his mother, of which sirname himself is supposed to be cheiff. At parting, he proffered him the shelter of his tent, knowing this gentleman had ther non of his oune, because his stay in the armie was uncertaine, haveing the Earle of Eglingtoune to wait upon att court, which was then ambulatory as the king's affairs requyred. This kynde offer of Corhouse's Cambusnethen accepts for some few dayes, dureing which tyme they became very familiar and contracted great friendship, which still continued untill affinitie made it more firme and lasting.

This armie being beat at Dunbar the third of September, 1650, young Corhouse narrowly escaped being knocked in the head or made prisoner, for his father's tent was cut doune above him by the enemie before he could get to horse; however, he escaped unwounded, and came safe to his father's house the day after this unfortunate battell. The countrey being all in a consternatione because of this great losse, and his father gone for Sterling to rally his brocken regiment,

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the sone weareyes to be confyned within the walles of the Corhouse, ane invincible strenth before the use of guns, ther being near approaching to it, the ryver of Clyde surrounding three parts of the flintie rock whereupon the house stands, but upon the front, and that strongly walled, and has a draw-bridge before the entrie which closes with ane irone yett. A particular descriptione of this house and the two linnes[1] (whereof the lyke is not in Scotland) is needlesse; seing they are weill enough knoune to all dwelling on the syde of the watter of Tay, it being ane usuall bye-word, when one would deprecate a mischief to another, to wish them to be casten over the Corow Linne. In this house the English never sett their foot untill half ane year eftir Worcester feight, that they wer masters of the wholl kingdome, a few islands, and some places of the Highlands only excepted, which they likewayes reduced to ther obedience. Within a short tyme, however, ther armie haveing martched from Dunbar to Edenburgh, and from thence to Sterling without oppositione, here they wer put

[1] A part of the ruinous castle of Corhouse still overhangs the great Fall of the Clyde, so called.

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to a stand; the king's forces rallying at this place, with new recruits, come from the north for his majesties service, had soe fortified this toune, being somewhat soe by cituatione, that Cromwell and his victorious armie durst not attack them within ther trenches, but without fyreing of a gun, retears his armie back to Linlithgow (where he leaves a strong garrisone), and soe to Edenburgh, where he took up his winter-quarters att my Lady Home's lodgeing in the Canongate.

The English sending non of ther troups to the west untill near Martinmas, the countrey gentrie that wer not yet gone up to the king's armie att Stirling, follows ther ordinary recreatione of hunting and hawkeing. Young Corhouse being at this sport, was pleased to come to Cambusnethen, there to renew his leigger acquantance with that gentleman's sone, where his wellcome was suteable to the civilities he had mett with from him in the campe; haveing stayed here too dayes, Corhouse invites young Cambusnethen to his father's house, and would have him alongst with him, which he condescended to; haveing procured his parent's licence, they sett furth, weill furnished with hawkes and dogs, which gave them much sport, the feilds and wayes betwext Cambusnethen and Corhouse be-

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ing fitted for halkeing and hunting; att night they came to the Corhouse, where they wer courteously receaved by the lady (a daughter of the house of Lie, her husband being then with the king att Sterling), and modestly by the young ladyes: when they appeared, the first that came in sight was Mistress Margaret (now lady to Sir James Johnstone of Wasterhall, second chieff of that name), of whom, by the way, young Corhouse was pleased to give ane character, and withall informed his comerad that the Laird of Wasterhall was her servant; for the youngest, Mrs Martha, she was not seen untill supper, and then came into the roume in a plaine countrey dresse; the truth is, she needed nothing else, being allwayes ane ornament to her cloaths when at the best, which eftirward she wore as fyne and fashionable as any lady of her qualitie within the natione, and that without wronging her husband's fortune or her oune credit. It is proper in this place, as I suppose, (being soe near a relatione, and that frequent occasione will occurre to mentione her name dureing the remeineing part of her father-in-law's memory), to give a descriptione of her persone and qualifications, both being excellent; to begin with the first, att her age of fyfteine compleat, she attained to her full

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height, which was soe farre above the ordinary stature of most women, that she was accounted amongst the tallest of our natione, but soe as that diminished nothing of her handsomenesse, every part answering thereto, as a slender waste, large shoulders, big breast, henches full and round, as nature had fitted her for delicate children, which in tyme she brought furth; her visage was long, her nose high, her brow bent and smooth as alabaster, her chin and cheeks somewhat full, with a little read, especially in hott weather; ther was nothing boor soe litle proportione with the rest of her body, as her hand and foot, both being extremely litle, but weill shapen, whyte, and full of flesh; her skin was smoothe and clear, but what was covered, not soe whyte as I have seen severall of her complexione that was purely sanguinean; her hair being of a bright flaxen, which darkened as she grew in age, added much to her beauty, wherin ther was no blemish, her mean being answerable to that, and her persone gave occasione to these that saw her at church, or any other public meeting, to ascert she graced the place and company where she was. It has often been observed, that when this gentlewoman walked upon the street (which was but upon occasione, being better imployed at home),

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that the eyes not only of the men, but also of these of her oune sex, was upon her, soe farre as ther sight could serve them, admireing her parts and handsomenesse. If any should questione the truth of what I have written concerning the persone of this young lady, ther are thousands yet alive both in Clidesdale, wher she was born and brought up, and lived some years when in a married estate, and in Mid-Lothian, her residence thereftir, where she lived some threttein years, and therin dyed, that will give the same testimony of her persone, features, and beauty.

For the induements of her mynde, they wer answerable to the excellency of the cause, as being of a quick apprehensione, strong judgement, a ready delyverie, albeit she had a little haugh[1] in utterance, which was soe farre from makeing it unpleasant, that it graced her speech, and was very takeing with these she conversed with; in a word, she was pious towards God, obedient to her parents, loveing and submissive to her husband, and obledgeing to the meanest of his relations; indulgent towards her children, frugall in

[1] Hesitation.

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careing for her familie, charitable to the poor, and courteous to all persons whatsomever. Haveing allready written of her personal induements in ane epistle directed to her four sones, which was all the children she boor, and was at men's estate when she dyed, I shall enlarge myself noe farder upon this subject, but leaves it to the consideration of all the world, whither a persone soe handsome and soe qualified had not charmes enough upon first sight, to ingadge the affectione of any man, as she did of this young gentleman's, who, without farder ceremoney, eftir supper proffered to her his service, being then in her oune and sister's apartement, which with as little ceremony she accepted, with this provisione, that he procured her parents consent: this bargaine begune was happily finished within ane year and a month thereftir, to the great satisfactione of all parties concerned.

Eftir eight dayes stay att the Corhouse, Cambusnethen and young Corhouse came back to Camnethen, haveing in company with them a gentleman named John Kennedie, brother-german to the Laird of Auchtifardell, old Corhouse's brother-in-law. This gentleman had been page to Major Bannatyne, and was with him all the tyme he lived, and bred a souldier; att the duke's

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engagement he was preferred to be leivetennent to ane troupe of horse, and that deservedly, being both stout and resolute, which served to purpose at this tyme, to preserve, not only the reputatione, but the lifes of thir two forward gentlemen upon this occasione. Some sex weeks eftir the armie that was defeat att Dumbar was rallyed att Stirling, the kirk party in the state and armie drawes up a remonstrance, which they offered to the king and counsell, by the hands of Sir James Stewart, provest of Edenburgh, for which eftirward he was necessitat to take a remissione, as did most of these that had any hand therein; the same being rejected by his majestie and his counsell, as full of treasonable language, tending to seditione, separatione, and douneright incroaching upon the rights and priviledges of the croune and safety of the natione. In that juncture of affairs, upon his majestie and counsell's rejecting of this remonstrance, Collonell Kerr, Collonell Stackett, with severall other officers of horse, drawes off a great part of the cavellerie that was conveened at Stirling, and formes them to a fleeing armie, which (disowneing the king's authoritie, but upon such conditions as they themselves, and the new schismaticks of the presbytearean kirk, will needs have

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the king condescend to) they martch first to Tweeddale, the westland part of Tiviotdale, Eskdale, Annandale, Galloway, where they levied some troups of dragounes; the wholl of this litle armie, with ther recruits (being by farre the best horse that had been in the armie at Dunbar), consisted near of two thousand horse and dragounes, which, in the latter end of October, they bring from the south, and quarters them upon Clyde. Ther being sixteine of Captaine Lockhart's troupe, belonging to Collonell Hackett's regiment, quartered upon Cambusnethen's land, whereof twelve had taken up ther lodgeing within the place, which happened to be the same very night that thir two young gentlemen and Leivetennent Kennedie came there from the Corhouse, most of the roumes of the house being taken up with themselves and ther pedies,[x] whereof they had not a few, and all the stables with ther horses; whill young Cambusnethen was dealling in fairnesse with some of the troupers, that they would remove a part of ther horses to the office-houses without the court, that ther might be roume for the stranger's horses, and was

[x] Attendants on foot.

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lyke to prevaill with them: young Corhouse unhappily quarrells with one of them, and from words they went to ther swords, whereupon the rest of the troupers drawes, which made Leivetennent Kennedie, Cambusnethen, and three of ther servants, quickly dismount, being yet on horse-back; the court was narrow, and sex horses standing in it, one houzed, which was of great advantage to the smallest number, ther being sex against twelve, because the straitnesse of the court, and madnesse of the horses, now at liberty, affrighted with the noyse and clashing of soe many swords, ran madly up and doune the court, and was lyke to tread both parties under ther feet, soe that the troupers, albeit stout fellows, had but small advantage by ther number. Ther had but few blowes passed before Leivetennent Kennedie was master of four of ther swords, and two of them next the yett were forced out by the two young gentlemen, who, haveing small swords, put soe home ther thrusts, that they wer necessitat to reteir or to be nailled to the wall.

This bickering might have been bloody enough, if old Cambusnethen, being at the tyme in the barnes, (which was at some distance from the place) hearing the noise and loud clamour of the women, had not quickly comed in, wherupon

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the rest of the troupers, willingly of themselves, withdrew without the yett, out of respect to him, knowing he was ane old souldier, and loved all such; ther was three of the troupers wounded, the gardiner of Camnethen, that came in to assist his young master, deeply cut in the shoulder, two of the horse cutt upon the neck and hips, young Corhouse had a large mandell coat which he had on cut in fyve places, and his arme a little wounded; young Cambusnethen haveing on a gray Dutch hatt, had his head weell preserved from being deeply cutt. Soe soone as this businesse was composed, to pacifie the souldiers, they were appoynted to quarter upon the tennents next the place, and from it ther was abundence of meat and drinke sent to them, which made them dispense with the supposed affront they had mett with in being putt from ther quarters.

Two dayes eftir this, (as it had been resolved upon betwext young Cambusnethen and his mistres), Corhouse begs libertie from Cambusnethen and his lady, that seing ther sone had proffered his service to his youngest sister, they would be pleased to licence his goeing alongst with him to see his father, that he might be assured thereof from his oune mouth; this they

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willingly condescended to, whereupon thir gentlemen, with ther servants, sett furth, haveing Leivetennent Kennedie for ther companione and guyde. Corhouse had then his regiment of horse (for Collonell Stewart eftir Dunbar came never up to them) quartered in Angus, his ounc was at the Laird of Grange's house, fyve mylles beyond Dundie. Upon the fyfth day after they parted from Cambusnethen, thir gentlemen came to this place, haveing made noe great haste by the way, because they desyred to see the countrey, as haveing never travelled that road before. Corhouse receaved his eldest sone indifferently, as one whom, by all appearance, (it consists with my knowledge, he never spocke one good word off) he had noe lykeing for dureing his life, and yet left him all (yea even that which ought to have been non of his) at his death, I mean the executrie, which, in reasone, should have pertained to his two daughters, seing his other sone, Sir William Bannatyne, dyed some years before himself; as for young Cambusnethen and the leivetennent, he made them very wellcome to his quarters, as did the old Laird of Grange and his lady, a true-hearted and loyall gentlewoman, to whose memory, for her civilitie, I ow this breif narrative.

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It was at this ladye's house that that party of the covenanters then standing armie, that gairded in the Marques of Montrose, eftir his forces was beat, and himself betrayed in the north, lodged him, whom this excellent lady designed to sett att libertie, by procureing his escape from her house; in order to this, soe soon as ther quarters was settled, and that she had observed the way and manner of the placeing of the guairds, and what officers commanded them, she not only ordered her butlers to let the souldiers want for noe drinke, but she herself, out of respect and kyndenesse, as she pretended, plyed hard the officers and souldiers of the main-guaird (which was keeped in her owne hall) with the strongest ale and aquavite, that before midnight, all of them (being for the most part Highlandmen of Lawer's regiment) became starke drunke. If her stewarts and other servants had obeyed her directions in giveing out what drinke the outgairds should have called for, undoubtedly the bussinesse had been effectuat; but unhappily, when the marques had passed the first and second centinells that was sleeping upon ther musquets, and likewayes through the main-guaird, that was lying in the hall lyke swyne on a mid-

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ding, he was challenged a little without the outmost guaird by a wretched trouper of Strachan's troupe, that had been present at his takeing. This fellow was none of the guaird that night, but being quartered hard by, was come rammelling in for his belliefull of drinke, when he made this unluckie discovery, which being done, the marques was presently seized upon, and with much rudenesse, (being in the adye's cloaths, which he had putt on for a disguize) turned back to his prisone-chamber. The lady, her old husband, with the wholl servants of the house, wer made prisoners for that night and the morrow eftir, when they came to be challenged before these that had the command of this party, and some members of that wretched committie of estates that satt allways at Edenbrough, (for mischieff to the royall interest) which they had sent for the more security, to be still with this party, fearing the great freinds and weill-wishers this noble heroe had upon the way he was to come, should, either by force or stratageme, be taken from them. The ladie, as she had been the only contryver of Montrose's escape, soe did she avow the same before them all; testifying she was heartily sorry it had not taken effect according to her wished desyre. This confidence of hers,

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as it bred some admiratione in her accusors, soe it freed her husband and the servants from being farder challenged; only they took security of the laird for his ladye's appearing before the committie of estates when called, which she never was. Ther worships gott somewhat else to thinke upon, then to conveen soe excellent a lady before them upon such ane account, as tended greatly to her honour and ther oune shame.

The second day eftir thir gentlemen's comeing to the Grange, young Cambusnethen took oppertunity to acquaint Corhouse with the occasione that brought him there to pay his respects to him. At that distance he had been informed of the particular by his sone (who was noe good secretary) the night preceeding, and therfore it was noe surprize to him; for in a short compliment he thanked the gentleman for the honour he intended to put upon his familie in proffering to match with it, but withall, he insinuated the tymes was ill for marrying, or giveing in marriage. However, if ther were any settlement in the countrey, he should advise with his wife, daughter, and his other relations, about the affair, which he hoped might take effect. Corhouse was a man of few words, and lyked not these that

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had too many; thairfore this gentleman gave him only thanks for soe obleidgeing ane answer.

Eftir a fortnight's stay in this place, Corhouse goes to court, which was then at St Johnstounes, and takes with him young Cambusnethen, fearing that in his absence his sone and he might quarrell at ther game, being both young and hasty, especially his sone, whom he knew to be extremely quarrellsome upon slight occasiones. Being come to Perth, Corhouse mynded his businesse, and this gentleman his recreationes, for some dayes, and then comes to take his leave of Corhouse, haveing a greater desyre to be with his daughter then all the ladyes about the court. Corhouse knowing soe soon as this gentleman came to the west, he would visit his familie; therfore he gives him letters to his lady, and to other persones in that countrey, with whom he had bussinesse, recommending the delyverie to him, whereof he was very carefull, as weill became him. That night before Cambusnethen parted from court, Corhouse was somewhat pressing that he should drinke heartily, but findeing the young gentleman had a great aversione therfrom, he most civilly forboor to trouble him with any more nor what he willingly took; the rest

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of the company, upon Corhouse's account, doeing the same.

That very evening it was concluded by his majestie and the counsell, that Generall Major Montgomerie should martch to the west with the greatest part of the cavillrie and dragounes, for to reduce that dissenting party to his obedience, either by fair means or foull; for Collonell Strauchan, ther head, being at first imprisoned in Dumbartoune, because of the remonstrance, was eftirward removed to Caithnes Castle, from whence escapeing, he returned not to the westerne forces, but left them to be commanded by Gilbert Kerr, haveing himself treacherously fallen off to the English, where meeting with some disappoyntments, he reteires to his father's house at Mussillburgh, contracts a frenacie, and in it dyes, thereby eviteing a helter, which he deserved for his former and present actings against the king and his royall father. It is true, for personall courage and conduct, he was as gallant a man as ever went before his enemie, and acted accordingly, but of very debauched principalls, as most of the rigid presbytereans are to this day, whose darleing and sword this Strauchan was, eftir Major Bannantyne dyed, who, as he was more worshipfully descended, soe was he

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nothing short of him in gallantry, and much more honest, if he had lived but a few years longer to have knoune and seen the cheats of the presbytereans, for whom he fought soe couragiously against the king, and dyed in ther service some few dayes before Long Merstoune Muir; and it is much to be regrated that soe gallant a man should have perished in soe bad a cause. But I returne.

Major-generall Montgomerie, according to the orders he had receaved, setting furth with his party, young Cambusnethen being of his particular acquaintance and cussing, goes alongst with him untill he passed Stirling-bridge, and was upon his martche for Dumbartoune, when comeing to take his leave, the generall major's intelligence being uncertane, he intreated his cussing, seing he was goeing higher up Clyde then he intended to martche his party, if necessity constrained not, that he would be pleased to give him notice of Collonell Kerr's motione, and if he had any acquaintance or relationes in that party, to learne it from them how they stood affected to a reconciliatione upon the termes offered by his majestie. This Cambusnethen promised to doe by an expresse within three or four dayes, but was prevented by the defeat of that

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dissenting party; for this gentleman haveing parted from the generall major neer the head of Campsie Fells, upon Fryday about twelve a clock, he came to Glasgow that night, where being informed that that remonstrating armie was quartered upon the other syde of Clyde, because of his promise to the generall, he resolves to be with them the next day, haveing there a dear and intimate comerad, one James Baillzie, second sone to the Laird of Carphin, then cornet to Gilbert Kerr's oune troupe, which then quartered in Renfrew. Cambusnethen comeing to this toune, enquyres for the cornet's quarters, which haveing found, he sends in word ther was a gentleman desyrous to kisse his hand. Soe soon as he hears this (being of a free and generous dispositione) he came quickly to the door, where seeing his dear comerad, (who was yet with his two servants on horse back,) he leaps a great hight, and clasps him all in his armes, without speaking one word, for joy. Cambusnethen told him, smylling, within some few dayes they might come to meet with more unkindely imbracements; "That shall never be," sayes the cornet; "light, dear comerad, and explain yourself;" which he does, desyreing of the cornet that they might be without company for half an

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hour. Being come to his apartment, Cambusne-then enquyred at the cornet if he had any news; he said non, but that the souldiers and inferior officers of ther party wished for a conjunctione with the rest of ther oune armie, for now they stood in fear both of them and the common enemie, and because of that, it is supposed we will quarter in Galloway this winter. Whill they wer thus discourseing, one knockes softly at the door, which the cornet opening, ane ordinance delyvers him a short note, which, when he had read, he delyvers to his comerad, and sayes, "Since Dumbar wee had not the good fortune to be togither, and now ane hour must part us, as you may see by that note;" which contained, that upon sight he should martche the troupe for Rugline, (his leivetennent being then sick at Glasgow.) The occasione of this was, Collonell Kerr had intelligence from Edenburgh that Cromwell was about to send a strong detatchement of his horse to quarter upon Clyde, and force him to seek his elsewhere, and that very day he had notice from Lendrick, that upwards of twentie troupes of horse was come there, and bound farder west, whereupon he concluded, as he had reasone, ther designe was to fall upon his quarters, which he mynded to prevent, by give-

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ing them ther wellcome to that countrey; and this was the reasone he soe quickly conveened his troupes, and appoynted ther randezvouze at Rugline, for he judged the English would lodge that night at Hamiltoune, ther being noe conveniency at that seasone of the year for soe many horse, but there.

Soe soon as the troupe was conveened at the cornet's quarters, and they wer ready to martch, this young gentleman thought any intelligence he was able to give Generall Major Montgomerie would be but lame, untill he understood how ther forces disposed of themselves eftir this generall rendezvouze; thairfore he insinuate as much to his comrad as he had a desyre to goe along with him, which, when he understood, he was pleased to give him ane hearty invitatione. It was neer two in the eftirnoon before all the troupes came into the rendezvouze, and about ane hour thereftir they wer formed in two great bragads of horse, each bragade haveing two troupes of dragounes upon the right and left hand, the wholl of the horse being four regiments, to wit, the Lord Kirkcudbright's, Collonell Strauchan's, Kerr's, and Hackett's; non of the two first was present themselves, they were

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commanded by ther leivetennent-collonell and major, ther number being about twelve hundereth horse, besydes ther dragounes, which was four hundereth strong. The horse was weill mounted and completely armed, the three collonell's troupes all in buff coats, and many of them Dutch, or High Germans: If ther principall officers had been guilty of noe more but the witholding of soe many gallant men from acting in his majestie's behalf, with the rest of his forces then in the feilds, it might have made them soe farre criminall, as to have forfaulted both their lyves and fortunes to him. But his mercy even extended to as many of thir men as out-lived his happy restauratione.

Whill this armie of horse stood in this posture, Kerr had intelligence that Lambert had passed Clyde with a great body of horse, and intended for Hamiltoune. Upon this informatione he called a counsell of warre, which satt in the tolbuith of Rugline; here the questione was putt, Whither they should fight the English, or martche ther forces to Carrick or Galloway; for by this tyme Major-generall Montgomerie, by ane expresse, had intimate his majestie's will and pleasure to them, wherein as yet they had come to noe re-

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solutione, but begane now to consider they wer lyke to have ther hands full when they should have to doe both with the king's forces and the common enemie's. This made them conclude ther safest course was presently to fall upon the English, and whatever the successe might be, it would at least take off much of the odium under which they lay, because of ther seperating of themselves from the king's armie. Soe soon as this was resolved upon, the counsell of warre brocke up, and every officer went to his particular charge. The troupes being keeped togither, the barne yairds within the toune and adjoyneing villages payed for that daye's and a part of the night's quarters; near ten the same night they came togither, and was ordered in this manner: Ther was a party of ane hundereth and forty horse given to the laird of Rallstoune, then Leivetennent-collonell to Strauchan, which was to martche before the vanne of the armie, and was ordered to fall upon the enemie's out-guairds; the first braggad of horse Gilbert Kerr commanded himself, the second Collonell Hackett, for the third I doe not remember the officer's name that commanded them; the dragounes was equally shared to these braggads, but ther was non given to the forelorne hope. This was a great errour in these that com-

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manded, and in effect lost them the oppertunity of routeing Lambert's party, and keeping himself prisoner, as you shall hear. All things being ordered according to ther mynde, they martched furth upon Saturday, or rather upon Sunday morning, the last of November, 1650. About twelve at night, Ralstoune, with his party, being still a quarter of a mylle before the armie, ther designe was to have surprized the English outguairds that stood upon the muir, a little above the toune, and soe to have fallen into the enemie's head-quarters; but souldiers of farre lesse experience, then for certaine many of these officers was that commanded this armie of horse, might easely have knoune that the brightnesse of the night (being fair moon-light) would not only have discovered them att a good distance by the sight of the eye, but that likewayes the noyse of ther horses feet (being then a hard frost) could not but alarume the enemie, seing they wer hardly a myle off any place before they came to it; but these things, and severall other circumstances that occurred in the tyme of actione, brocke this party; for the enemie's out-sentries haveing heard the noyse of the horses feet, presently conjectured ther was a great body of horse advanceing towards them, whereof they gave no-

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tice to ther guaird, which they heard of themselves before the sentries came in. This they advertised Lambert off, by two horsemen, who immediately commanded the guairds to draw off, and to bring ther sentries without challengeing the enemie within the toune, and not to leave a man at that port where he knew the enemie would enter, because of the way they were comeing. This he did of purpose to delude our men, by makeing them beleive, that eftir his martche they should find him secure: but it proved otherwayes; for Rallstoune misseing ther guairds upon the muir, advanced still with his party untill he came to the port, where ther was not a man to challenge him, which made him doubt either some stratageme, or that ther intelligence had been false of the Englishe's being there; but comeing to the broad street that leads from the tolbuith to the palace yett, he fand the enemie, albeit in some consternatione, ready to receave him, whom he resolutely charges, breakes, and housses most of them in lesse than a quarter of ane hour. It was then soe exceedingly darke, because the moon was now gone too, beeing neer three in the morning, that noe man could discerne his friends from his foes but by the light of ther pistolls; and soe great was ther

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confusione, that the English within the toune, being more in number by sex parts then these that charged them, killed severall of themselves, takeing them for their enemies. Lambert being beat from his horse was made prisoner for ane hour; but his qualitie not being knoune, the troupers that had taken him rambleing for horses, (whereof there was good store to be had whose masters had forsaken them), he made his escape out at the back entrie of Sarah Jean's Close, then the greatest inne in Hamiltoune. Being knoune to his oune men, he was presently mounted

To these braggads of horse that was drawen up upon the Crafts without the toune, who yet had seen noe enemie, for all the hott worke ther comerads had within. Day beginning now to appear, being near sex in the morning, when two rascalls, that was more for plunder then fighting, with each of them two of the enemie's horses in ther hands, comes up to Collonell Kerr, and assures him Rallstoune was absolute master of the toune, haveing killed many, made prisoners some, and beatten the enemie out of it: this last was a notorious lye, for the English was yet within the toune three tymes Rallstoune's number, though not in one body, but in twenties and thretties upon horse-back, readyf or service, soe

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soon as they should distinctly know ther enemies; however, this false intelligence soe hightened the courage of that body of horse that Kerr commanded, that presumptuously they cryed to him and ther other officers, to lead them to charge the enemie, or they would doe it without them, and upon that begane to move, which ther commanders seing, advanced with them; ther was betwext them and the enemie (which stood in a great and close body with a strong reserve ready to receave ther charge), a little burne, antiently called Keagoe[1] Burne, from whence the first of the Hamiltounes had ther designatione, but now knoune for Hamiltoune water, because it runs through a part of the toune. This water runneing somewhat laigh, ther is a descent to it from the west, whereupon Gilbert Kerr's horses stood, and ane ascent to the east where the English had placed themselves; our men, in passing of this (being in a large front), had fallen in some disorder, which the enemie observing, presently charges them soe home upon the ascent, that many of our front being pressed back by the [number] and strength of the English horses,

[1] Or Cadyow Burn.

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overturned many of the second and third ranks, both horse and men, in the water; however, for a short tyme, it was weill enough foughten, for these upon the right and left hand opening, falles in resolutely upon the enemie's flanks and putts them soe to it, that they wer lyke to fall in as great confussione and disorder as ours was, in passeing the water. But the ground being good and level whereupon they fought, they soone recovered themselves, and worsted these few that disputed with them upon that syde of the burne. The reserves of both parties, nor yet the dragounes, never came to actione, for any thing I could see or hear; what was the reasone thereof I am yet to learne. Upon the retreating of this braggad, commanded by Kerr, the other, commanded by Hackett, fairly martches off without fyreing of a pistoll, which the enemie observing, they calmely martches ther reserve over the burne, whill that braggad of theirs which had foughten was rallying, and putting themselves in order for the persute, Collonell Kerr, with his oune troupe and severall officers, keeped the rear of his oune forces, where wee will leave them stoutly disputeing every rig lenth (for near two mylles) with the enemie; and see what became of Rallstoune and his party, who, soe soon

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as it was day (every ane of his men haveing ane of the enemies horse and some prisoners) he begane to retreat out of the toune, which the English (being now come togither in greater bodies) observing, they resolved not to part with him upon soe unequall terms, and to losse ther men and horses; thairfore they charge him upon his reteareing from all quarters of the toune. Most of his men's fyre being spent in the night service, they wer necessitat now to dispute it with ther swords, which they did very gallantlie, as being loath to part with ther late purchase, but to ther great losse, being felled with the enemie's shott, and cutt doune with the multitude of ther swords, which in a manner surrounded them, ther was the greatest slaughter imaginable; for before this they had foughten be guesse, being doubtfull how to direct ther shott or stryke at the enemie because of the darknesse of the night; but now every man saw how to imploy his armes at this last conflict: there fell of Rallstoune's party near sextie, and the rest, with the losse of ther prisoners and horse, being brocken, wer forced out of the toune, to shift for themselves the best way they could.

The enemie being still upon the persute of

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Collonell Kerr with reserved troupes, charged him still, soe that at lenth many being killed, and most of the gentlemen wounded that keeped the rear, his oune horse shott, and his right hand almost cutt off, he was taken prisoner. At the same charge Cornet James Baillzie was shott in the mouth, through the cheekes, and with much gallantrie, by the helpe of his dear comerad, came off from being made prisoner; such of ther troupes as keeped in a body, retreated to Ayr, whither the English persued them, until of themselves they dispersed, and this was the end of the remonstrating armie, that acted nothing worthy of themselves, nor of that big expectatione the foolish ministers of ther party had of them. Of the routeing of this party, Generall major Montgomerie had notice before eight a clock at night from his cussing Cambusnethen, whereupon the next day he martches his forces back to Stirling, there to attend his majestie's farder orders.

Cambusnethen haveing brought his comerad, Cornet Baillzie, to Paisly, and left him there to be cured of his wound, goes himself to the Laird of Cathcart's, of the name of Semple, neer cussing of his by the mother syde; here he remained for three dayes, untill all the English troupes had passed west, and then in company of the

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Laird of Idistoune, and some other neighbour gentlemen that had sheltered themselves at Cathcart's, he returnes to Cambusnethen; here it cannot be forgotten how most of this company by the way freatted extremely that this young gentleman and his servants would not part with ther armes, and lay them asyde, as they had done to a very knife, for fear of meeting with the English. As they journeyed with this humour of thers, Cambusnethen made good sport by telling them he loved his armes and horses very weill, and his libertie farre better, and would not readily part with any of these without blowes, if they should meet ane enemie by the way, although somewhat unequally staited. This discourse frighted some of the gentlemen soe much, that when they entered the parish of the Munckland, they slipped off through by-roads to ther oune homes, and left this gentleman to journey to his alone.

Being come to Cambusnethen, he was joyfully receaved of his parents, to whom he gave ane particular account of his receptione by Carhouse, and how he stood affected to the proposall he had made anent the matching with his familie; likewayes he informed them of the newes then at court, and the orders given to Major-Generall Montgomerie, and his particular commissione to

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himself, in order to the giveing of him intelligence anent the discenting forces now brocken att Hamiltoune, whereto he had been an eye-witnesse. This startled his parents much, who haveing noe informatione of ther sone's being on this syde of the water of Forth, could never have suspected his being at that engadgement. His father modestlie reproved him for hazarding himself where he had noe call; but his mother chide him extremely, even to tears, soe that with many fair promises not to doe the lyke, he scarce could calme her passione, which, proceeding from an excesse of love to and fear of loseing her only sone, was the more excuseable in her that had been a most indulgent mother to all her nyne children, wherof ther was non at this tyme alive but her eldest sone and youngest daughter.

The day eftir ther sones comeing to Cambusnethen, he goes for the Corhouse to see his mistress, delivers the letters and what other things he had in commissione to the lady from her husband, which she accepted very thankfully from the hands of this gentleman, of whom she had a great esteeme from ther first acquaintance to her oune death, which she evidenced by many singular favoures conferred upon him and his familie, both before and when he became her sone-in-

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law. Eftir some eight dayes tyme at the Corhouse, this young gentleman haveing renewed his acquaintance, and againe proffered his service to his delicate mistress, he was necessitat to part from this loveing company, haveing receaved his father's commands, who was now ready to go for Perthshyre, either to resyde at court, or with his cussing, the Laird of Pottie, a second brother of the house of Raploch, for that winter. The reasone of this sudden resolutione was, because eftir the defeat of Collonell Kerr, Cromwell had resolved to garrisone the toune of Hamiltoune, which he did with three thousand foot and horse, and gave the command therof to Collonell Lillburne. This made most of the weill-affected gentlemen in the Nether Waird to retire themselves beyond the water of Forth. Cambusnethen and his sone resolved to be at his majestie's coronatione, which was solemnly performed upon the first of January, 1651; the manner whereof is so punctuall and particularly sett doune, both by the English wryters, and before that printed sermone, preached at the coronatione by Master Robert Douglas, eftir the presbyterean straine, and alamod the covenant, that it wer superfluous for me to insert the same here. 1651.

Cambusnethen, dureing his abode att court,

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and with his cussing Pottie, he went to kisse the hands of William Duke of Hamiltoune, then residing at the Struthers, a house in Fyfe, belonging to his brother-in-law, the Earle of Crawfuird, both of whom being now forsooth reconcealled to the kirk, who yet would fain have been paramunt, but by this tyme ther wings was clipped, and out of necessitie they became better mannered, and admitted persones of honour, and souldiers of merit, to serve ther prince and countrey upon farre easyer termes, then they would have done the year preceeding. It was to this house of the Earle of Crawfuird's, (a very beigett covenanter, great stickler and opposer of his majestie's good intentions and interest in this kingdome, att and before the beginning of the warre, when but Lord Lindsay, but then turned proseylite in the year 1648, and yet retained untill his death some grains of the golden calf,) that many of the Clydesdale gentlemen came to pay ther respects to his grace the Duke of Hamiltoune, and amongst others, Cambusnethen and his sone, whom he receaved kyndely; knowing Cambusnethen to be an old and expert souldier, he was pleased at parting to assure him that he would procure from his majestie the command of a regiment of foot for him, provyding he would

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accept thereof. Cambusnethen humbly thanked his grace, and told him his majestie would gett farre younger and abler souldiers to serve in that statione then he was; however, he was resolved to hazard his only sone in the king's service, by putting him in his troupe of guaird for a tyme, which accordingly he did, and then returned to the west to look eftir his private affairs, which was now beginning to be in some disorder, because his estate in Mid-Louthian was eaten up, first by our oune forces, and then by the enemie's, under whose feet they now lay. Att parting he gave his sone his blessing, and commanded him presently to put himself in the king's guaird of horse, but that he should receive noe pay, nor be burdensome to the countrey, he left him gold and money for three months, against which tyme he concluded the king's armie would take the feilds, and incampe on this syde of the water of Forth, and then his sone might be supplied with necessaries from his oune house of Cambusnethen, which accordingly was done all the tyme the armie incamped att Torwood, Killsyth, and Lelbur bridge, untill his majesty's martcheing into England. Here I might take occasione to give a true and particular account of our armie's martcheing, incamping, and actions, from their

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first setting furth from Stirling Parke, untill ther passing by Carlisle, but that all these occurrences are allready fully spocken to by the author of the Civill Warres of Brittaine; and to be ingenuous, the distractions of our kirk, state, and armies, with the mistakes and miscarriages of our principall officers, ought to be buried in perpetuall oblivione; besydes this gentleman, Cambusnethen, haveing noe command, nor being present all that tyme, whose memory I wryte, and not his sones, but soe farre as it necessarily occurres upon his and the familie's concerns, which cannot now be evited, haveing soe great a dependency the one upon the other, as being then in the eighteinth year of his age, and the same year wherein he was marryed, I say it wer not propper, from this narratione, to give ane account of the armie's proceedings, seing he had no command therin, nor yet his son, who served his prince and countrey out of dutie and loyalty voluntarily, without pay or hope of reward, soe long as the armie remained in Scotland; but soe soon as it was knoune they wer to martche for England, Cambusnethen fearing he might lose his only sone in that expeditione, wrote to him the night before the king parted from Stirling to come home, and he not comeing, nor re-

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turneing the expresse soe soon as he expected, because the armie was to martche that way, Cambusnethen apprehended his sone was resolved to goe alongst with them, wherupon he procured obleidgeing letters from his sone's mistress, inviteing him to see her in his passage, which, when he performed, the passione of love soe farre prevailled, that ther was noe resisting of her commands, which, upon old Cambusnethen's earnest entreaty, she caused her mother second by a kindely force in keeping close the iron yett untill the king's armie was passed Boghall, a house belonging to the Earle of Wigtoune, then garrisoned by the English, soe that ther was noe safe travelling upon that road to have followed the armie; hereby Cambusnethen obtained his desyre, and it fell out happily for the preservatione of his familie,[1] which had been extinct if that young gentleman had been lost in that unfortunate expeditione, wherein soe many noble and gallant men perished to their oune eternall praise, and the great comfort of ther surviving

[1] The reader will recollect the escape of Sir Roger de Coverley's ancestor from the same fatal field, in consequence of his being sent elsewhere upon a mission of importance, the evening before the battle.

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relationes, seing it was in the service of their prince, whose merits then, as at this present, calles for the outmost that his subjects can doe in defence of his sacred persone and royall authoritie, above all persons in all causes, within his oune dominions, let papists and presbyters babill what they please.

These fatall stroakes of Enderkeithine, Worcester, Eliot, and Dundie, being given with of most of our strenths in the Lowlands, the submissione of some, and trysting of others of our grandies, with the principal of the English officers left or sent here to command ther armie that winter, rendered the countrey somewhat peaceable, which made the nobilitie and genterie returne to ther respective dwellings to live in as much peace as ther enemies would lett them, of whose incivilitie (abstracting from his majestie's interest) wee have noe great reasone to compleane, and that nether as to the inslaveing of the natione in generall, nor incroaching absolutely upon the propperty of the subjects; a few sequestrations and fyneing of these that had been most active against them was the worst wee mett with; and albeit that was unjust in itself, considering the staite of ther quarrell, yet comeing from declared enemies at the tyme,

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wee wer favourably dealt with. This much I ow that natione in generall. Whatever was the actings of these bloody rebells and houmds of hell, that carried on ther designes against the royall familie, I disoune. How smoothlie soever they carryed towards our natione, or any man in particular therin, was for ther oune mischeivous ends, to secure them in ther usurped authoritie; however, men had libertie to look eftir ther private concernes, and young Cambusnethen haveing now laid asyde his armes, imployed his tyme in hunting and halkeing, but mostly in courting of his mistress, untill the beginning of September, that that busines was brought to a tryst att the Corsefoord boat, a passage upon Clyde, neer midway betwext the Corhouse and Cambusnethen. Ther mett with and for Corhouse, Mr John Lockhart of Heads, James Durhame of Duntervie, James Lockheart of Cleghorne; for and with Cambusnèthen and his sone, Gavin Hamiltoune of Raploch, James Cleilland of that ilke, Robert Hamiltoune of Millburne. There was not much trysting in the matter, there being ane equality as to the persones, the portione offered, the present sustinance, joynter, and estate, that was to be secured to the heirs of the marriage, where-

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upon there was a minute drawen by Mr John Lockhart of Heads, and subscryved be Cambusnethen and Corhouse. Upon the seventeine day of the same month, the contract was subscryved att the Corhouse, the persones before mentioned, with severall other worthie gentlemen, being witnesses thereto. By this contract Corhouse gave ten thousand merks in tocher, with his second daughter, Martha Bannatyne; and Cambusnethen contracted with his only sone, James Somervill, the barronie of Cambusnethen, the lands of Gillmertoune and Gutters, in Mid-Lothian, without the burden of any debt, or children's provisione, except three thousand merkes Scots. The young gentlewoman had the Over Maynes of Cambusnethen for her joynter, which was all that that familie had in propperty in the barronie of Cambusnethen, their provisione for a present subsistance, dureing the old laird's life, being eight chalder of bear, with the sylver rent, and other casualities belonging thereto, payed out of the toune of Gillmertoune. Neer two monthes efter the contract, they wer marryed by Mr John Home, in Lashmehagoe kirk, upon the thretteinth day of November, 1651, the bryde being in the eighteinth year of her age,

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and the bridegroome in the nyneteinth. A matchlyer pair was not seen within the walles of that kirk this last century, nor a greater wedding, considering the great consternatione the countrey had been in for some few monthes preceeding, for nobilitie and gentrie, ther being one marques, three earles, two lords, sexteine barrones, and eight ministers, present at this solemnitie, but not one musitiane; they lyked yet better the bleetings of the calves of Dan and Bethell, the ministers long-winded, and sometimes nonsensicall graces, litle to the purpose, then all musicall instruments of the sanctuarie, att so solemne ane occasione, which, if it be lawfull at all to have them, certanely it ought and should be upon a wedding-day, for divertisement to the guests, that innocent recreatione of musick and danceing being much more warrantable, and a farre better exercise then drinking and smoakeing of tobacco, wherein these holy brethren of the presbyterean [persuasion] for the most part imployed themselves, without any formall health or remembrance of ther freinds; a nod with ther head, or a sigh, with the turneing up of the whyte of the eye, served for that ceremoney. Good reader, you must pardone this digressione, for men of ther principles deserves very little fa-

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vour att the hands of the most of the noble families in Scotland to this day, for if they had power, they want not will to act the same rebellione over againe, albeit they knew the consequence should be as ruinous and fatall as formerly. But I have done with them att this tyme, and returnes to this solemnitie, which continued from the Thursday untill the Tuesday thereftir, that the nobilitie and gentrie went home to ther oune houses, as Cambusnethen did to his, leaveing his sone att his father-in-lawe's, where he remained a year, and had his first chylde borne there upon the twentie-sexth of August, 1652. He was baptized at Lendrick kirk, by Mr Robert Birnie, the sexth day thereftir. Being a son, he was named eftir his father and grandfather, James. He continued with his grandfather Corhouse untill the sexth year of his age, that he went to schooll.

Hitherto this gentleman Cambusnethen had mannadged his private fortune soe as ther was not much noyse of his debts, which he had contracted for the purchaseing of that barronie, but now his sone being putt in the fie of his wholl estate, except the maynes of Drum, his creditors pressed him much to have his sone cautioner for ther money, which he by his father-in-lawe's ad-

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vyce excused himself from, in regaird his father had not only received the wholl of his tocher, but likewayes he had power, by the contract of marriage, to make sale of the house and maynes of Drum, in order to the payments of his debts, which, if he had sold in tyme, according to the true value, with the tocher, and what he might have spared of his oune life-rent, it would have done much to have saved his oune credit and the hazard the estate was in of being almost ruined by the great expences these apprysings brought upon it, that was led by his creditors, the principalls being two gentlemen of his oune name, Hugh Somervill of Spitle, and Gilbert Somervill, burges in Edenburgh.

These dissorders in his estate bred ill humours in the familie, especiallie betwext the mother and daughter-in-law, both excellent women, but want sometymes makes crosse natures. I shall not say which of them was in the fault, nor indeed can I, but that ther was mistakes upon both hands, untill ther conditione bettered by the sale of Cambusnethen, which had occasioned all that trouble; however, for the tyme, old Cambusnethen apprehending his oune danger from the rigour of his creditors, and being unwilling to be an eye or ear witnesse to his ladie's

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and daughter-in-lawes disagreement, he resolves once againe to take himself to armes, albeit he was then in the sextieth year of his age. The occasione offered fair, for about this tyme the noble Earle of Glencairne (eftirward, upon his majesty's restauratione, made lord high chancellor of Scotland, in which office he dyed,) had gotten a commissione from the king, as generall of all his forces in Scotland, or that were to be levyed therein, whereupon many noblemen, such as the Earles of Athole, Montrose, Seaforth, Kinnoull, Selkrig (now Duke of Hamiltone,) the Lords Lorne, Frazer, Didhope, and Kenmuir; for barrones ther was M^{c}Leod, M^{c}Ronald, Glengairie, (now Lord M^{c}Donald,) M^{c}Naughtoune, Sir Arthur Forbes, and Duchrie, that for a long tyme keeped Aberfoyll passe from the English, with severall other barrons both in the low and high lands, and hundereths of worthy gentlemen that I have not come to the knowledge of ther names, joyned in this associatione for ther prince and countrey's libertie, the successe whereof undoubtedly would have proven answerable to ther noble undertakeings, if emulatione amongst the principall commanders had not marred ther designes, and made ineffectuall most of ther attempts upon the enemie. However, some few

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moneths efter Glencairne had receaved the commissione, and sett up the king's standard, he became soe formidable to the English, that Cromwell haveing made a peace with the Dutch, sent doune Generall Monke to command in cheiff ther forces in Scotland. The particulars of this voluntary warre (as the author of our civill warre names it,) is soe punctually sett doune by him, and that soe litle to our disadvantage, that I need not repeat what is already written soe faithfully by him.

Cambusnethen being assured by letters from his cussing Barns Hamiltoune, that the Earle of Glencairne had taken the feild, and declared his commissione by open proclamatione att severall markett crosses, he fitts his equipage in the deep of winter, in order to attend his excellence att his houff quarters, then att the castle of Weymes, the principall residence of the Lord of Weymes, cheiff of the Ther accompanyed him from Cambusnethen, (besydes his oune servants,) severall young gentlemen, wherof his cussing John, now Sir John Whytefoord of Miltoune, chieff of his name, was one, who had a commissione for a troupe of horse at the same tyme. Cambusnethen receaved his from the 1653.

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Earle of Glencairne, which was upon the twentie-fourth of December, 1653. The tenor of the commissione followes.

"Wee, William Earle of Glencairne, commander in chieff of his majestie's forces within the kingdome of Scotland, by virtue of his majestie's commissione to raise forces within the kingdome of Scotland, and wee being confident of the courage, conduct, and loyaltie of James Somervill of Drum and Cambusnethen to command as our leivetennent-collonell of foot, thairfore we doe appoynt the said James Somervill to be leivetennent-collonell to the regiment of foot to be listed furth of the shyre of Clydesdale, under the command of such a collonell as thereftir shall be appoynted, with power to the said leivetennent-collonell to appoynt his oune inferior officers, and to reduce the foot soe levyed into companies; and the proportione soe listed is to be at the rate following, viz. upon each fyve hundereth merks rent, ane able footman weill armed, with power to him to invade, kill, and destroy the common enemie, and to seize upon the persons of any who disobeyes this order, and to bring them prisoners to the armie; and also with all other priviledges and immunities belonging

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to a leivetennent-collonell of foot, he allwayes observeing such orders as he shall receave from tyme to tyme from me, or any other his superior officers. Given under my hand at Weymes, the twentie-fourth of December, 1653, *Sic subscribitur*,

GLENCAIRNE."

This commissione proved ineffectuall, because the sheriffdome out of which the same regiment should have been raised, was soe garrisoned by the English, that ther was noe possibilitie to make any formall levyes of foot, and for such as came in of their oune accord, for the most part they wer horsemen; however, this gentleman still attended the generall untill Midletoune's comeing, and that unhappy difference that fell out betwext Glencairne and Generall Major Monroe, which, with Midletoune's defeat thereftir, upon the nynteinth day of Jully, 1654, 1654. proved the totall subversione of that warre, for thereupon Glencairn some weekes preceeding, haveing left the armie to be commanded by Midletoune, had reteired himself to the West Highlands, and then to Dumbartoune, with fyve hundered men, upon the report of that defeat capitulats with Generall Monke, and laide doune

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ther armes, of which number Cambusnethen was one, who haveing accompanied the Earle of Glencairne some part of his journey, he takes his leave of him, and comes home to his oune house, eftir a year and ane half's absence. It was a great surprize to his lady, sone, and daughter-in-law, as haveing noe intelligence thereof before his comeing, and soe much the more when they beheld him and his servants all in their Highland habites, which, as it was at the beginning somewhat affrighting, yet eftirward it gave them occasione of much laughter, when most of the familie for a divertisement tryed on these weeds, which became some of them very ill that was of a low stature.

Cambusnethen eftir his returne, haveing visited his relations Raploch, Cleilland, and Millburne, these three gentlemen being cautioners for most of his debts, they advysed him, that seing his pettie creditors might be troublesome to him when he had the maynes of Cambusnethen in his oune hands, that he would quyte the labouring thereof to his sone, and reteire himself to his house of Drum, in Mid-Louthian, where, being near Edenburgh, he might have the better oppertunity to tryst and setle with the most rigide of his creditors, many of whom by this tyme

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had apprysed his wholl estate. This counsell of his freinds he follows, and transports himself and his familie to the Drum, where he dwelt four years, and thereftir; by a mutuall contract past betwext him and his lady and only sone, he disponed (for the releiff of his debts) his life-rent right to his sone, reserveing as a subsistance for himself and his lady eleven hundered markes yearly. This contract is dated att Edinburgh, the fyfth of August, 1658. Att Mertimas thereftir he setled his residence at Edenburgh, where he dwelt for nyneteinth years, dureing which tyme, being now aged, he sought eftir noe publick imployment, and for the private affairs of his familie, he left that to his sone's mannadgement. But upon his majestie's restauratione in *anno* 1661, he went to London, in hopes to have gotten some reparatione for the great losse he had sustained by the west-land forces, 1648, and by the English armie, 1650, with the expences he had put himself to during the Highland warre, 1653, and some part of the year 1654. But his majestie had such a swerme of needy persones hinging upon him, that pretended highly both to his favour and bounty upon the account of ther sufferings, that it was not possible for him, either by his thesaury, or all the places and im-

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ployments in the three kingdomes, to gratifie the tenth man of them; thairfore this gentleman haveing receaved some faint promises from his cussing (by a triple relatione) the earle, eftirward Duke of Lauderdale, that he should be provyded to the first military imployment of foot that occurred in the kingdome of Scotland, he came home, and eftirward never sought eftir any, but lived in private; his eldest grandchylde, by his sone, named eftir himself, being married in June in *anno* 1671, upon one Elizabeth Grahame, daughter to George Grahame, merchant in Edenburgh. Of this marriage, three years thereftir, in *anno* 1674, ther was borne a sone, where he was with his lady witnes to his great grand-chylde's baptisme; ther was present at the table (the infant being brought to it,) four of the familie in a direct lyne, to wit, the great grandfather, the grandfather, the father, and his sone, all of one christned name, ther fathers and mothers first begotten and borne children that ever they had; the infant then brought (before many worthie guests), was the twentie-four of his familie from father to sone, the successione of three younger brethren that was heirs to their elder brethren that dyed without male children, being reckoned in this catalogue.

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His vertuous lady, now of the age of sextieth and seven, with whom he had lived in a conjugall estate for fourtieth and four years, dyeing in December, 1675, he buryed her in the Abbay Kirk of Hollyrude-house, where she would be interred beside her mother, the Lady Newhall, a daughter of the house of Clarkingtoune Cockburne, who had been buryed there some few years preceding by her grand chylde, then James Bannatyne of Newhall; for himself, he outlived his lady but ane year ane moneth and a few dayes, being all that tyme with his only daughter then alyve. Dureing the most part of that tyme he had his health and strength soe weill, that upon the sexth of February, 1676, in the company of three gentlemen, Patrick Inglis of East Barnes, John Gray, and Mr David Rue, wryter in Edenburgh, he went without a rest to the top of Authur's Seat, as is evident from ane subscryved note, written with his owne hand the same day upon the place; but the strength and health of old men soon decayes, for in October thereftir he falls in ane apoplexie, which keeped him near two dayes, soe that many thought he was dead, but it pleased the Lord to recover him out of that distemper, his sone and daughter-in-law being both then at the Corhouse. Here

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I cannot omitt, but with all thankfullness give, a testimonie to the care and christian charitie of that pious and learned divine, Master Young, then Lord Bishope of Edenburgh, who, for the most part, attended this gentleman dureing that agonie, for which, as he himself was very thankfull upon his recovery, soe was some and other relations infinately obleidged to the worthy bishope, to whom this gentleman, when he came to his health, with much remorse regrated his haveing accessione (as a commissionat officer from the year 1639, to June, 1644,) to the late civill warre, commenced against his sacred majestie King Charles the First, and protested solemnely to this reverend divyne, that he could have been content to expiate with his blood the guilt of his subscryveing that accursed league and covenant, whereunto he was drawen through the perswasione of the ministers, and his oune great relationes that then satt at the helm of affairs, that was also much deluded with these incendaries in that particular as himself; however, he hoped God would pardone him that guilt, seing he designed nothing by his actings in that warre but the securitie of the protestant religione, his majestie's honour, the just priviledges of the crowne, and the safety of the king's sacred per-

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sone, as he then thought, and was made to beleive by these that should have teached nothing but truth to the people, from the chaire of veritie, as ther commissione from ther lord and master did warrand them, which they for self ends grosely abused, to the deludeing of many thousands innocent soulles, that mynded nothing but honestie, whereof he himself being guilty, he first craved God's mercie, his majestie's, and the reverend fathers of the churche of Britaine, against whom, as he now is convinced, ther first and maine designes was att the beginning of these unhappy troubles, wherin he had engadged himself with the first, now to the great regrate of his soull. His lordship hearing this from the mouth of soe reverend and worthie a gentleman, was much satisfied with this acknowledgement, and assured him, that, seing he was soe sensible of his former errour, God, who was gracious and mercifull, would pardone him these faults he had committed, rather out of ignorance then of will and intentione to wrong the churche in her principall officers, and the king in his royall authoritie, which he held of God only, and not of the people nor ther representatives, as these false teachers and selfe-seeking statesmen made them

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then believe, to the undoeing of the churche, king, and state, for the tyme. But now, blessed be God, ther counsell being turned to foolishnesse, and ther power brocken, the churche, king, and people, enjoyed ther oune just rights and privileges, to the ignominie and reproache of these that was the authors of these unhappy troubles.

1677. This discourse haveing passed betwext the Bishope of Edenburgh and this gentleman, they thereftir became very intimate and wer often togither, for the spirituall comfort and good of this gentleman, who lived but three months eftir this; he sickened more then ordinary in the latter end of December, 1676, which occasioned his sone and daughter-in-law to give their constant attendance. The first of January, 1677, he tooke his bede; upon the second, he called for his sone, daughter, and daughter-in-law, and all ther children, and gave them his blessing, commanding his sone to bury him besyde his wyfe and mother-in-law. Upon the third day of January, 1677, near sex at night, he dyed, being then entered in the eightieth and second year of his age. Of nyne children he had by his lady, ther was only two survived him; his eldest sone and youngest daughter, that dyed in March thereftir the same

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year, and left two sones; his vertuous daughter-in-law, whom he loved dearly, (as being a great support to his familie,) wand him with her oune hands, as she had done his lady the year preceeding, and his only daughter in March the same year; her oune father and mother some two years thereftir, that dyed within two dayes of one another, and were buried at Lessemehagoe kirk, in ther oune isle, and laid in one grave; all these, with ther two nephews, this delicate lady did the last dutie unto, for which, and many other acts of charitie, both to her relations and strangers, her memorie will be pretious to her posteritie; for her father-in-law, he was buryed by his sone, her husband, and four grandchildren, at eight a clocke att , and laid in the Abbay Churche of Hollyrud-house by his ladye's syde, most of the nobilitie and gentrie in toune, with two hundereth torches, being present att the interrement. Thus lived and dyed James Somervill of Drum, the twentieth in descent from Sir Gualter de Somervill, and the only representative of the houses of Whichenour in England, of Lintoune, Cowdaylie, and Drum, in Scotland; and with him I will finish these Memoirs, wishing from my heart, that his great-grand-chylde, now James Somervill, younger of

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Drum, (his father, a young gentleman of great expectatione, being unfortunately and ungratefully killed of late,) who is to succeed to the remaines of that ancient estate, or his uncle's, if he dye without male successione, (which God of his infinate mercy prevent,) may repaire the breatch thereof, and restore the same to its former honours and greatnesse of estate in both kingdomes.

END OF THE MEMORIE OF THE SOMERVILLS.

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CONCLUSION.

THESE Memoirs of the Somerville Family terminating thus abruptly with the death of the author's father, it becomes the duty of the Editor to give some brief account of the succession down to the present day.

JAMES, ELEVENTH LORD SOMERVILLE, author of the Memoirs, was, as we have seen, the son of James, the tenth lord. Like his father and grandfather, he declined assuming a title which the decayed state of the fortune seemed unable to support. By his lady, whom he mentions with so much affection, he had a promising son, James, who was slain during his father's life-time by an unhappy accident, alluded to in the conclusion of the Memoirs. Riding from Edinburgh to Drum, he saw two of his friends fighting with swords, and having dismounted and interposed to separate them, received himself a wound from one of the

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combatants, named Learmonth, (son of Mr Thomas Learmonth, advocate,) which was instantly fatal. The Master of Somerville died in early youth, leaving behind him a son James, by his widow, Elizabeth, daughter of George Graham, an eminent merchant of Edinburgh, and descended from the Montrose family. This son carried on the line of the family, when his grandfather James, eleventh lord, and author of the Memoirs, died in the year 1690.

JAMES, TWELFTH LORD SOMERVILLE, the account of whose birth concludes the history, married Elizabeth Murray, daughter of —— Murray, whose grand-daughter and heiress married Sir Gilbert Elliot, father of the late Lord Minto. He died about the year 1710, leaving eight children, of whom James, the restorer of the family, born in January 1698, was the eldest. Of the others, no one left descendants except George, a captain of dragoons, who married —— Hicks, of Dinder, near Wells, in Somersetshire, and died about the year 1780, leaving a son William, since dead without issue, and two daughters, —— married to the Rev. —— Fowndes, of Kittory, Devon, by whom she had a numerous issue, and died in 1812, and Maria, now living unmarried.

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JAMES, THIRTEENTH LORD SOMERVILLE, eldest son of the twelfth lord, arrived at twenty-one in 1719, and found himself possessed of about £300 per annum, with an incumbrance of seven brothers and sisters. Apportioning £100 a-year to them, he repaired to London, where he soon obtained a commission in the dragoons; and, in 1722, succeeded in establishing his claim to the baronial title of Lord Somerville, in consequence of the extinction of issue of Lord Gilbert. The whole of this transaction is detailed in the Lords' journals of that period.

In 1724, Lord Somervill married Anne, only daughter and heiress of Henry Bayntun of Spy-Park, in the county of Wilts, Esq., by his wife Lady Anne Wilmot, eldest daughter and co-heiress of John Earl of Rochester, and widow of Thomas Rolt, Esq., of Sacombe, in the county of Herts, to whom she had born Thomas, whose only daughter married Timothy Caswell, Esq., Edward, afterwards Sir Edward Bayntun, Bart., father of the present Sir Andrew Bayntun, Bart., several other sons who died without issue, and Elizabeth, married to Lieutenant-general Prideaux, of Nethaway, Devon, by whom she had the present Sir Wilmot Prideaux, Bart.

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By this lady, who died at Drum in 1736, Lord Somerville had three children, *viz.* James, his successor, born in January 1727, and Hugh, born in 1729, of both of whom hereafter; and Ann Wichnoure, born 12th September, 1725, married in December 1748, to George Burges of Greyslee, in the county of Berks, Esq., by whom she had three children, *viz.* Sir James Bland Burges of Beauport, in the county of Sussex, Bart., marshal of his majesty's household, and well known as an author and man of letters. He was born 19th June, 1752, married first on 19th June, 1777, to the honourable Elizabeth Noel, daughter of Lord Viscount Wentworth, who died 21st January, 1779, *sine prole.* 2dly, on 16th December, 1780, to Ann Montoleiu, daughter of Lewis Charles Montoleiu, Baron of St Hypolite, by whom he had James George, who died in 1791, Charles Montolieu Osborn, who died in 1789, Wentworth Noel, killed at the storming of Burgos in 1812, Somerville Waldemar, Clara Maria, Emilia Charlotte, married in May 1810, to Brigadier-general Hugh Halkett, by whom she has three children, Caroline Eliza Ann, Sophia Ann, and Julia Octavia. She died on the 25th of October, 1810. 3dly, on the 1st September, 1812,

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to the right honourable Lady Margaret Fordyce, daughter of James Earl of Balcarres, and widow of Alexander Fordyce, Esq.

2d. Frances Ann, born 10th September, 1753, and married in March, 1781, to James Roper Head of Hermitage, in the county of Kent, Esq., by whom she had George, James, Francis Bond, Hugh Somervill, Henry Erskine, Mary Amelia, Sophia Anne, (who died in 1811,) and Frances Anne. She died in February, 1809.

3d. Mary Anne, who was born 6th December, 1763, and died unmarried 10th August, 1803.

After the death of Anne, Lady Somerville, in 1736, his lordship, about the year 1738, married Frances, daughter of John Rotherham, Esq., and widow of —— Curganven, Esq., by whom he had one daughter, who died young.

At the election in 1741, he was returned as one of the sixteen peers to parliament, where he continued to sit till the year 1747, about which time he was appointed one of the lords of police in Scotland, and had the grant of an apartment in Holyrood-house.

Lord Somerville enlarged the family estate considerably upon the following remarkable occasion: It may be remembered that William de Somerville, founder of the Scottish baronial fa-

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mily, was the second son of Sir Walter de Somerville of Whichnour, in the county of Stafford. The direct male line of this English branch of the Somervilles had been long extinct, having ended in an heiress, who married Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, executed for high-treason in the reign of Henry VIII. But a very ancient branch of this family of Whichnour continued to flourish in the descendants of a Roger de Somerville, who, having obtained from his father, Sir Walter Somerville of Whichnour, the barony of Aston, in Gloucestershire, bestowed upon it the name of Somerville-Aston. From a long line of ancestors, this estate, and the representation of the English house, descended upon William Somerville, Esq. of Eadstone, in Warwickshire, and of Somerville-Aston, in Gloucestershire, the well-known author of the Chase, and other poems. Economy is seldom the companion of the muses, and this amiable and ingenious man became, ere the close of his life, involved in difficulties, which, perhaps, a more strict attention to his affairs might have prevented, although it is also to be considered that his estate, nominally 1500*l.*, was reduced to less than two-thirds of that sum, by a jointure of 600*l.* to his mother. Mr Somerville had been introduced to

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AN ANCIENT MONUMENT

in the Church of Somerville Alton Gloucestershire.

The Figure is cut out of the Chancel pavement and is a Whitestone by Sampson Adams Sculp.

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the Lord Somerville, of whom we are now treating, probably by the circumstance of their common ancestry, which had been announced to him by the celebrated Allan Ramsay.' Being himself without issue, and desirous to continue the ancient estate in the same family, the poet made, in the year 1730, a transaction with Lord Somerville, by which, in consideration of certain sums applied to the relief of burdens, he settled upon his lordship the reversion of his estates at his death: this event took place in 1742, when the English estates passed to the baronial house of Somerville in Scotland, with whom they still remain.

By this arrangement, the representation and the remaining property of both the English and Scottish branches of this ancient family became

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" You both from one great lineage spring,
Both from de Somervile, who came
With William, England's conquering king,
To win fair plains and lasting fame.

" Whichnour he left to's eldest son,
That first-born chief you represent:
His second came to Caledon,
From whom our Somer'le takes descent."
Verses addressed to Mr Somerville, by Allan Ramsay.

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united with the Scottish title, after a separation of more than six hundred years.[1]

James, thirteenth Lord Somerville, died at his seat of Drum, on the 16th of December, 1763, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

James, fourteenth Lord Somerville, who succeeded the restorer of his family, had served for eighteen years in Waldegrave's dragoons, and after the peace of 1763, retired with the rank of major. He sate in parliament, as one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, from 1790 to his death. This nobleman had some prospect of making the remarkable acquisition of the original marquisate of Somerville, near Evreux, in Normandy, being the place from which his ancestors drew their name, and which they left in order to follow the fortunes of William the Conqueror. This title and manor appear to have fallen into abeyance, or to have reverted to the crown by the extinction of the French branch of

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[1] The poet also bequeathed to Lord Somerville, what perhaps he judged second in value to his property, a manuscript volume, namely, of his unpublished verses. As they bear the same character of easy humour, which distinguishes his tales and burlesque poetry, it is probable they may be one day used to complete an edition of the works of the author of the Chase.

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the Somerville family. A treaty for the grant of this manor, and researches for ascertaining his claim as heir-male of the ancient marquisses, was set on foot by Lord Somerville, under the care of Colonel Debbeig, then residing in Normandy, with some prospect of success. But this was in 1792, when the French revolution was just about to break out; and it is remarkable, that these enquiries of Lord Somerville appear to have been used as corroborative of a report which the incendiaries, already busied to stir up the French against England, had circulated among them, namely, that Great Britain meant to dismember Normandy from France by force of arms, and that the English descendants of the ancient Norman Barons were preparing claims upon the French estates of their ancestors when this appropriation should take' place. It is scarce necessary to add, that the treaty was broken off by the progress of the revolution.

Jame, fourteenth Lord Somervilled, died in 1796, and was succeeded by

JOHN, FIFTEENTH LORD SOMERVILLE, and the present representative of this very ancient and honourable family. His lordship is the son of Colonel Hugh Somerville, brother to James the fourteenth Baron. Colonel Somerville was twice

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married. By his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of G. Lethbridge, Esq. of Westaway, Devon, he had the present Lord Somerville. He married secondly Mary, eldest daughter of the Hon. Wriothesley Digby of Meriden, Warwickshire, by whom he had four sons and four daughters, viz.

1. Hugh, died in 1807.
2. Mary, married to the Rev. C. Digby.
3. Frances.
4. Mark, captain in the royal regiment of artillery.
5. Harriet.
6. Kenelm, post captain in the royal navy.
7. William, an officer in the royal navy.
8. Julia Valenza, born on the anniversary of the capture of Valenza d'Alcantara by her father.

The time, we hope, is long distant, when a genealogist may with delicacy and propriety enquire how far the honours of the family have been adequately sustained by the present representative. In removing the Scottish mansion of the family from the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh to the banks of the Tweed, in the

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MELROSE ABBEY,
Melrose Bridge over the Tweed, and the Pavilion,
the Seat of Sir James Pringle Bart.

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neighbourhood of Melrose, his lordship may be considered as having again established his family in that county where they first gained their estate and honours. The beautiful situation of this seat differs indeed from the savage strength of Linton and Cowthally, as the pursuits of agriculture, and other useful arts, which have honourably distinguished the noble proprietor, bear little resemblance to the military habits of his more remote ancestry. But the same patriotism which armed the feudal baron to defend or restore the rights of his country, is, in more happy days, exerted in increasing the sum of public wealth and general prosperity; nor ought we to omit, that hospitality, long a characteristic of the family of Somerville, is still exercised at Alwyn with more elegance indeed, but with equal sincerity, as when it put in exercise the "spits and raxes" of the Castle of Cowthally.[4]

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ERRATA.

VOL. II.

Page 51, line 8, to *fourtieth* add *thousand.*
Page 422, line 12, for *Tay*, read *Clyde.*

Corrections to be made in the 486th page of the 2d Volume of the Memoirs.

Line 6, for *five sons and two daughters*, read *four sons and four daughters*, viz.

1. Hugh, died in 1807.
2. Mary, married to the Rev. C. Digby.
3. Frances.
4. Mark, Captain in the Royal Artillery.
5. Harriet.
6. Kenelm, Post-Captain in the Royal Navy.
7. William, an Officer in the Royal Navy.
8. Julia Valenza, born on the anniversary of the capture of Valenza d'Alcantara by her father.

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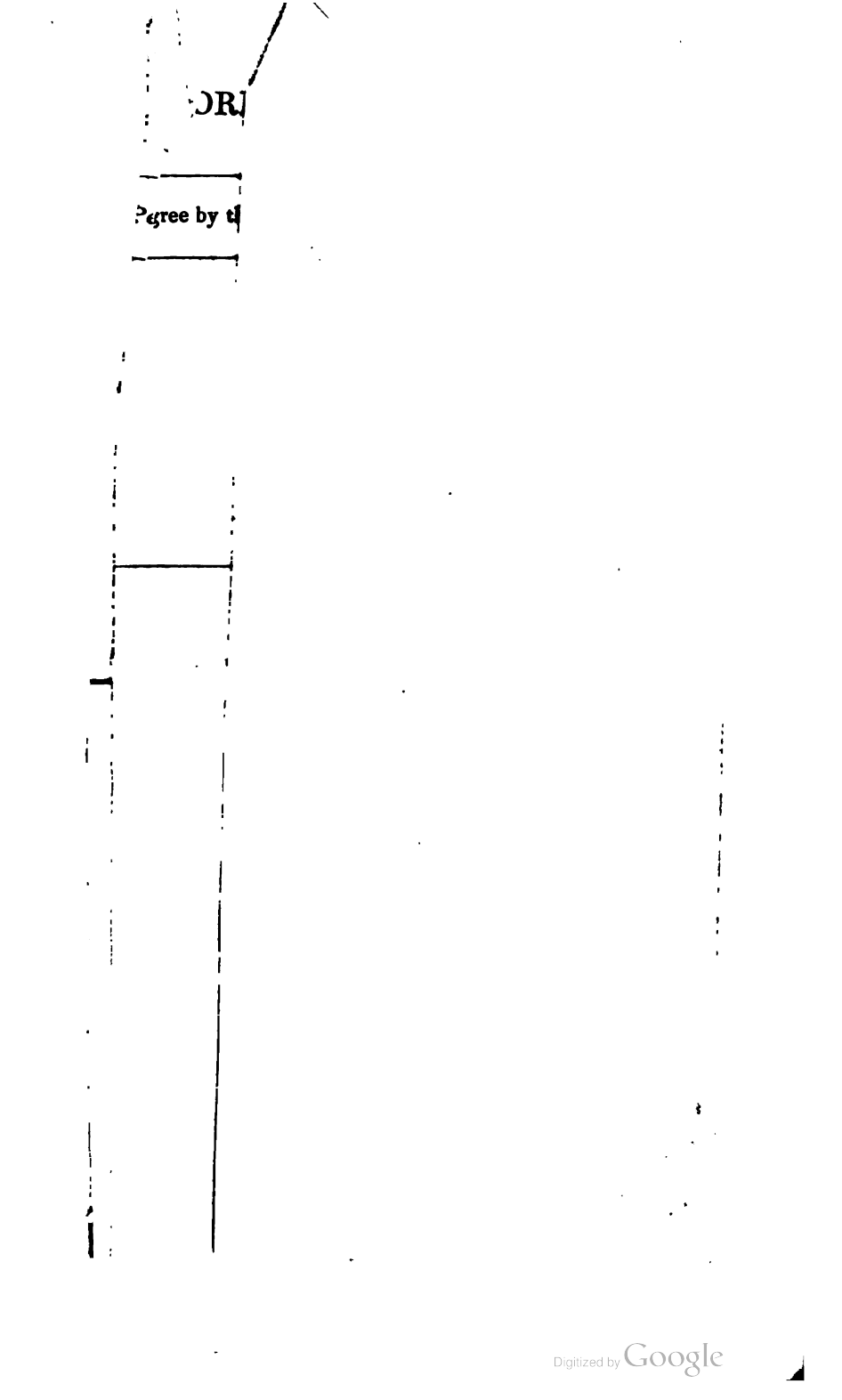

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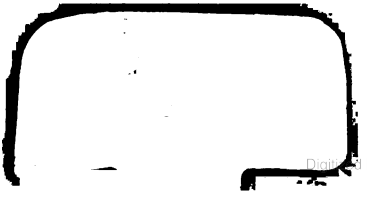
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